

## II. Documents on Slavery and Unfree Labour in Nepal: Editions and Translations

### 1. Documents on Donation and *Satī* of Slaves

#### 1.1 A document recording the donation of a slave and land to Ādiviśveśvara by Ṭhākura Gira Gosāi (K\_0113\_0023)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated ŚS 1680 (1759 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Viśveśvara Mahādeva Guṭhī, po. 11; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 113/23; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36930>.

Edition:

1 श्री: \

1 स्ही ईस्व गिरी वीसंपु

2 पातले छाप्

1 सकल् वमोजीम् नकल् दुरू-

2 स्त छ भनी सही छाप गर्ने ईस्व

3 गिरी

1 स्वस्ति श्री शाके [१]६८० मा रोयदिनगतातिव भौमवासरे फालगुन पु-

2 णिमायां तीथौ दोगाम व्यासीमाहा आड<sup>31</sup> रोपनी पेत पियारि कमारीसमे-

3 त श्रीश्रीश्री आदिवीसेस्वर<sup>32</sup> प्रीति गन्या श्री ठाकुर गिर गोशाईले ईन् सि-

4 वापन<sup>33</sup> गन्या<sup>34</sup> । ऋतिक साछी श्री धनराज गीर महन्त श्री प्रमार्थ गीर महंत श्री

5 अमर गीर श्री भोज गीर श्री वलीराज गीर श्री गोशाई मुरलि पुरी श्री नेहा-

31 Read: *ātha*.

32 Read: *ādiviśveśvara*.

33 Read: *śivārpana*.

34 Read: *garyā*.

- 6 जन पुरी श्री हरजी गीरी श्री भभु गीर श्री दल सीं गार भारथी श्री रन शिह म-  
 7 हत । मुषीया वीसुंषुका सवै पंच साछी वस्य्या । पत्र सही शुभम् । श्री वी-  
 8 रवृजीता पंत राजा धनमंत सव्य काजी पालामाह देवभीतरसल । श्री

Translation:

Śrī

Signed, Īsva Giri [of] Bisankhu. *pātale chāp*<sup>35</sup>

Īsva Giri, who [by] signing [attests] that the copy is true to the original.<sup>36</sup>

Hail! On Tuesday, the full moon day of Phālguna in the Śaka year [1]680 (1759 CE)—on a very auspicious occasion—Śrī Ṭhākura Gira Gosāi, who adores the threefold glorious Ādiviśveśvara, donated eight *ropanīs* of land in Dogāma Byāsī together with a female slave [named] Piyāri to this Śiva. The truthful witnesses are: Śrī Dhanarāja Gīra Mahanta, Śrī Pramārtha Gīra Mahanta, Śrī Amara Gīra, Śrī Bhoja Gīra, Śrī Balirāja Gīra, Śrī Gosāi Murali Purī, Śrī Nehājana Purī, Śrī Harajī Giri, Śrī Bhabhu Gīra, Śrī Dala Siṃ Gāra Bhāarthī and Śrī Raṇa Siṃha Mahanta. The *mukhiyā* and every one of the *pañcas*<sup>37</sup> of Bisankhu witnessed [the offering]. Signed. Auspiciousness.

During the time of the venerable Vīravṛjītā Panta, King Dhanamanta, and Savya Kājī. *deṃvabhūtarasala*<sup>38</sup>. Glory!

Commentary:

This document, located in the Guthī Saṃsthāna office in Bhadrakālī, gives the date as Śaka year 680. One may assume that the writer left out the figure 1 from the year (see also D.R. Pant 1997: 138 fn). The year 1680 ŚS, if correct, would correspond to 1759.

This document mentions that Ṭhākura Gīra Gosāi offered a piece of land and a female slave to the Ādiviśveśvara temple of Bisankhu. The location of the donated land, Dogāma Byāsī, is in the Bisankhu area in

35 Perhaps a stamp with *pāta*, a piece of jute, hemp or silk yarn attached underneath stamps.

36 This text and the signature above are in the left margin.

37 *Pañca*: a local council consisting of five or more members.

38 The meaning is unclear.

Lalitpur (Regmi 1984: 70 mentions the place, there with the spelling Dugam).

The document has eleven witnesses whose names attest to their membership in ascetic orders, among them three *mahantas* (i.e., the heads of the ascetic orders or monasteries). The recurring terms Gīra and Gāra probably refer to Giri.

## 1.2 A copperplate inscription recording the offering of two Newar girls by Bālakṛṣṇa Upādhyā to serve at Paśupati-nātha (PN\_0002\_0002)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated ŚS 1695 (1773 CE); Paśupati Gośvārā; microfilmed as NGMPP PN 2/2; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.35143>.

Edition:

1 श्री ५ पशुपतिर्जयति ।

[A figure of the Sun]

[A figure of the Moon]

1 श्री ५ पशुपतिनाथका

[A figure of a *triśūla*]

1 साक्षी श्री वीरभद्र राणा ॥ शुभं

1 साक्षी पुत्र श्री षडानन उपाध्या ॥

- 1 ॐ अद्य श्वेतवाराहकल्पेत्यादि आषाढमासे शुक्लपक्षे च-
- 2 तुर्थ्या तिथौ अक्षयानक्षत्रे वज्रयोगे यथाकरणमुहूर्त्तके
- 3 मिथुनराशिगते सवितरि कर्कटराशिगते चंद्रमसि आत्रेय-
- 4 गोत्रेः श्रीवालकृष्णदेवशर्मा सपुत्रः श्री ३ पशुपतिभट्टार-
- 5 कप्रितये इमे नकु गुणवतीनाम्न्यौ दास्यौ देवदासीत्वेन
- 6 संप्रदत्तौ । अथ भाषा । स्वस्ति श्री शाके १६९५ आषाढ शु-
- 7 द्वि चतुर्थीका दिनमाहा भीरकोट्या श्री वालकृष्ण उपाध्याले
- 8 --- चरणतल दुइगोटी कमारी नकु गुण भन्याकी ने-
- 9 वार्नीकन --- देवदासी गरि चढायौ । इनमाथी पुजारा

- 10 भट्टहेरुको लाग नास्ति । साक्षी श्री हरिहर उपाध्याका पाचे  
 11 भाईका । साक्षी भगवती वन गोसाइ । लेखक श्री दुर्गनाथ महाचार्य्या ।  
 12 इन दुऐकन जो हरण गरला तस्कन पंचमहापातक होला ।

Translation:

May the fivefold glorious Paśupati be victorious!

[A figure of the Sun]

[A figure of the Moon]

The fivefold glorious Paśupati's

[A figure of *triśūla*]

Witness: Śrī Vīrabhadra Rāṇā; auspiciousness<sup>39</sup>

Witness: Śrī Ṣaḍānana Upādhyā, the son [of Bālakṛṣṇa Upādhyā]<sup>40</sup>

*Om.* Today, [in] the aeon called Śvetavārāha, and so on; on the 4<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of the month of Āṣāḍha, in the Aśleṣa lunar mansion, in the Vajra *yoga*,<sup>41</sup> in an appropriate *karaṇa*<sup>42</sup> and *muhūrta*<sup>43</sup>, when the Sun and the Moon were in the zodiacal signs Mithuna and Karkaṭa respectively, within the Ātreya lineage, Śrī Bālakṛṣṇa Deva Śarmā together with his son has offered two slaves, named Naku and Guṇavatī, as *devadāsīs* for the pleasure of the threefold glorious Paśupati Bhaṭṭāraka.

Now, [in the] vernacular language. Hail! On the 4<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the Śaka year 1695 (1773 CE), [I], Bālakṛṣṇa Upādhyā of Bhirkot, have offered the two Newar slaves named Naku and Guṇa to the feet of --- [i.e., the fivefold glorious Paśupatinātha]<sup>44</sup> as *devadāsīs* of --- [i.e., the fivefold glorious Paśupatinātha]. The Bhaṭṭa caretakers [of the temple] shall have no authority over them. Witnessed

39 The text is in the left margin.

40 The text is in the right margin.

41 A division of time based on the sum of longitude of the sun and moon. There are twenty-seven *yogas*.

42 A division of time, with two *karaṇas* being equal to a lunar day. There are eleven *karaṇas*.

43 A division of time equivalent to 48 minutes; the 30<sup>th</sup> part of a day.

44 This space holder in the original contains symbols which has been reproduced in the edition as dashes (---).

by the five brothers of Śrī Harihara Upādhyā. Witnessed by Bhagavatī Bana Gosāi. Writer [of the inscription]: Śrī Durgānātha Mahācārya. Whoever takes these two [slaves] away will be guilty of the five great sins (*pañcamahāpātaka*).

### Commentary:

This copperplate from Paśupatinātha temple, dating to 1773, concerns a donation of two Newar female slaves to the temple by Bālakṛṣṇa Deva Śarmā (also named as Bālakṛṣṇa Upādhyā in the document), a Brahmin from Bhirkot. The document does not mention the name of the king, Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha, reigning over the Kathmandu Valley at the time. Bhirkot, the donor's place of residence, was a part of the Caubīsī kingdoms to the west of Gorkha. Previous editions of this document appeared in Śreṣṭha (1974: 104–5) and Vajrācārya and Śreṣṭha (VS 2037: 114–15). Also, for a short analysis of the document, see D.R. Pant (1997: 138).

### 1.3 A copy of a document from Joga Nārāyaṇa Malla to Bhagavanta Bāḍā re the offering of female slaves to Palāñcoka Bhagavatī (K\_0579\_0063)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1832 (1776 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Ta. no. 1339 (11), Gu. Ba. no. 12; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 579/63; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.37001>.

### Edition:

1 श्री

1 श्री भगवतिमाई

1 ११

1 स्त्री सकल वमोजिं नकल दुरूस्त छ भनि स-

2 हि छाप गन्या करुणानंद मो[?]जुपषं<sup>45</sup>-

45 Uncertain reading.

3 वाहाल - - -

[Unknown seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री जोगनारायणमल्लकस्य पत्रं ।
- 2 आगे भगवंत वाडाके । ---को आसनि सिलाका थिति-
- 3 कन टहल् र झारू वढारूकै कमारि २ दिजुं चर्हाजुं । तस-
- 4 महा दावा धक्का झईझगरा कसैको रोकतोक नास्ति । इति
- 5 सम्बत् १८३२ साल माघ वदि १३ रोज ६ मुकाम् काभ्र्या
- 6 व्यासि । शुभम् ।

Translation:

Śrī

Glorious Bhagavatī

11<sup>46</sup>

Signed by Karuṇānanda ...<sup>47</sup> in attestation that the copy is true to the original<sup>48</sup>

[Unknown seal]

Hail! A letter from Joganārāyaṇa Malla.

Āge: to Bhagavanta Bāḍā. I [herewith] give—offer—2 female slaves to attend to the customary services relating to the stone seat (*āsani silā*) of the glorious [goddess] Bhagavatī and to do the sweeping. There should be absolutely no [false] claims (*dāvā*), intimidation (*dhakkā*), lawsuits (*jhajhagarā*) or [other forms of] obstruction in [reaction to] this.

Friday, the 13<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the [Vikrama] era year 1832 (1776 CE). Residence: Kābhryā Byāsi. Auspiciousness.

46 This number, assigned by the Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, represents the serial number of the document within the bundle.

47 Part of the name is illegible in the original.

48 The text is written in the left margin.

### Commentary:

This is a copy of a document concerning two female slaves offered to the goddess Bhagavatī of Kabhrepalanchok district. The goddess is also commonly known as Palanchok Bhagavatī. The addressee of the document, Bhagavanta Bāḍā, is mentioned as the priest of the Bhagavatī shrine in various documents, including NGMPP K 579/58, 62, 64, 66, 71, and 72. In document K 579/58, issued in VS 1805, he is reconfirmed as the rightful priest of the Bhagavatī shrine by the royal priest. The identity of the issuer/donor, Joganārāyaṇa Malla, is unknown. The two slaves, though offered for service in the temple, are not called *devadāsīs* in this document, unlike a similar case in the Document 1.2 recording the offering of slaves to Paśupati.

#### 1.4 A *lālamohara* from King Raṇa Bahādura Śāha informing Dalamardana Śāha and others of his father's death and the *satī* of eight slave girls (DNA\_0014\_0041)

Edited and translated by Axel Michaels; Dated VS 1834 (1777 CE); National Archives Nepal, Ms no. 462; microfilmed as NGMPP DNA 14/41; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36929>.

### Edition:

- 1 श्रीदुर्गासहायः\
- 2 श्री वावा

[Royal seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायेणेत्यादिवि-
- 2 विधविरूदावलिविराजमानमानोन्नतश्रीमन्महाराजाधि-
- 3 राजश्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराजेरणवहादूसाहवहादूसमसेर्ज-
- 4 इदेवानाम् सदा समरविजयिनाम् लि० । स्वस्ति । श्रीगि-
- 5 रिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायेणेत्यादिविधविरू-
- 6 दावलिविराजमानमानोन्नतश्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकु-
- 7 मारश्रीश्रीश्रीमद्वलमर्दनसाहदेवेषु तथा श्रीश्रीश्री-
- 8 मद्रहादूसहदेवेषु सदा समरविजयिषु ---पूर्वक-
- 9 पत्रमिदं । इहाँ कुसल तौहाँ कुसल चाहिये । आगे इहाको
- 10 समाचार भलो छ । उप्रांत अधिदेपि ---ज्युलाइ र-

- 11 गत् पन्या वेथा थियो । पछि वातको वेथा थपियो । वेथा-  
 12 को दवाउ भयो र मंसिरका दिन ६ जाँदो सोमवार विहा-  
 13 न पलौंग हुनुभयो जना ८ केटिहरू सति गया । क्रिया-  
 14 कर्म गर्न लाग्यु । क्रिया वस्याका नरु साह सिव साह भो-  
 15 टु पाँडे नीलधोज भवानिदत्त थर्थोकमा इंद्रमुनि वस्-  
 16 न्यात जना ६ वस्याका छन् । ताँहाँ पनि जुठो वार्नुहवस् । सु-  
 17 द्दसांति भयापछि आफुहरूलाइ चलावन थरघर भला  
 18 मानिस् आउँछन् । आयापछि ताहा वसूठ गरि तव पा-  
 19 व लायुहोला । थरघर आउंज्यासम्म ताहि राज गर्नुहो-  
 20 ला । इति संवत् १८३४ साल अगहन वदि ६ रोज ५ । शुभं ।

Translation:

May glorious Durgā help [us]!

Venerable father

[Royal seal]

Hail! [a *lālamohara*] written by him who is shining with manifold rows of eulogy [such as] “The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings” and Naranārāyaṇa (an epithet of Kṛṣṇa) etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice glorious great king, Raṇabahādura Sāha; the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

Hail! This letter with [auspicious wishes] is to thrice glorious princes Dalamardana Sāha and Bahādura Sāha who are shining with manifold rows of eulogy [such as] “The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings” and Naranārāyaṇa etc., high in honour and always triumphant in war.

The tidings here are fine, and it is hoped that you are also fine there. Furthermore, [other] news from here is well.

*Uprānta*: From earlier times [my] father suffered from bloody dysentery. Later the arthritis disease was added to it. [Medical treatment for the diseases was done, but] he was oppressed with pain [and] he went to the other world on Monday morning of the 6<sup>th</sup> of Maṅsira. 8 female slaves (*keṭi*) became *satī* (i.e., performed self-immolation).<sup>49</sup> We have started the funerary rituals, [which are] being performed by Naru Sāha, Śiva Sāha, Bhoṭu Pāḍe, Niladhoja, Bhavānidatta and

49 On *satī*, see Michaels (1993 and 1994) and Mainālī (VS 2078).



Indramuni Basnyāt [representing] *tharthoka*<sup>50</sup> [required assembling], all together 6 persons. There (i.e., at your place) you also should observe [mourning for] impurity (*juṭho*). When the purity and pacification [periods] are finished, *tharaghara* and noble people will come [there] to set you interacting [again] together (i.e., to eat cooked food with outsiders). After their arrival you should stay there together [for some time and then] make a move (i.e., return). Until the arrival of the *tharaghara* you should stay there.

Monday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Agahana (i.e., Mārgaśīrṣa) in the [Vikrama] era year 1834 (1777 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary:

King Raṇabahādura Śāha writes this letter to Princes Dalamardana Śāha and Bahādura Śāha to inform them about the demise of the king's father Pratāpa Siṃha Śāha on Monday morning, the sixth day of Maṅsira. The letter mentions the immolation (*satī*) of eight female slaves (*keṭī*). For a recent study on the *satī* system of Nepal, see Mainālī (VS 2078), especially pp. 169–179 of the book for various incidents relating to immolation female slaves.

## 2. Documents on Slave Transactions

### 2.1 A sales deed recording Bālasundara Thāpā's obtaining of two former slaves of his from Bhairava Siṃ (E\_2824\_0044)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1889 (1833 CE); private collection of Cakra Rāja Timilā, Bhaktapur, no. 29; micro-filmed as NGMPP E 2824/44; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.37360>.

Edition:

1 श्री \

1 सहि

1 स्वस्ति श्री लिपितं बालसुन्दर थापा । आगे डम्बर्या कमारो १ रंगी

50 *Tharthoka*: representatives of six clans: the Pāḍes, Pantas, Arjyālas, Khanālas, Rāṇās and Boharās.

- 2 कमारि १ अघि इ कमारि हाम्रै घरवाट गंगाप्रसाद गिरिका घरमा जादा हा-  
 3 म्ना जेठा दाज्युले दि व्यच्याका रह्याछन् । हामि भाइ वस्याका पनि थियौ-  
 4 न । गौराइ पनि षायाको थियेनं । झगरा पनि गर्याको थियेन ।  
 5 आज कमारो हाम्रा घर वस्न आउदा भैरव सिले येक सय येक  
 6 रूपया लियो । मोल्ल पटक गरि मैले किन्या । यो कमारो कमा-  
 7 रि जाग्यस्वर गिरिकन र सुव्यानिकन मैले नदिनु । दिया  
 8 भन्या भैरव सिले वाधि लैजानु । मठमा मैले दिन भन्या ।  
 9 आज कीन्या वेच्याको सहि । जसले कुरा फेर्ला स्व झुठा ।  
 10 साछि इन्द्रविर षत्रि प्रताप थापा उतर कुमार थापा ।  
 11 सम्बत १८८९ मिति फागुन वदि ७ रोज १ । शुभम् ।

Translation:

Śrī

Signature<sup>51</sup>

Hail! Written by Bālasundara Thāpā.

*Āge*: My eldest brother unexpectedly gave-sold the male slave Dambaryā and the female slave Raṅgī when they [once] went from our own house to the house of Gaṅgāprasāda Giri. We brothers had not gathered [to discuss the matter]. We had neither have any earnest (*gaurāi*), nor did we institute legal proceedings (*jhagarā*). Today the slaves have come [back] to stay in our house, [and] Bhairava Siṃ took one hundred one rupees [for them]. I bought [the slaves] after bargaining. This slave boy and slave girl should not be given to Jāgyasvara Giri or Subyānī. If they are given [to them], Bhairava Siṃ should take [the slaves] away bound. I have declared that I will not give [the slaves] to the *matha*. The transaction today has been endorsed (*sahi*). Whoever alters [the terms of] the matter, will be [considered in the] wrong. Witnesses: Indravira Khatrī, Pratāpa Thāpā [and] Utara Kumāra Thāpā.

Sunday, the 7<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the [Vikrama] era year 1889 (1833 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary:

The content of this document is confusing. This much seems clear: the eldest brother of Bālasundara Thāpā had sold the two slaves to

51 In the left margin. The signature is probably of Bālasundara Thāpā.

Gaṅgāprasāda Giri without consent from his brothers, and Bālasundara obtained the slaves back by paying 101 rupees. Bhairava Siṃ is perhaps an authority who apparently had brought the slaves back to Bālasundara, and he has been declared responsible to take the slaves away in case they are ever given back to Jāgyasvara Giri and Subyānī. The identities of Jāgyasvara Giri and Subyānī are not clear. One can assume that they are relatives of Gaṅgāprasāda and that all three have ties to the same *maṭha*.

This document, even though of pre-*Mulukī Ain* period, depicts a situation that is covered under Ain-54 § 81.1 dealing with a brother's selling of slaves or domestic animals without consulting other brothers.

## 2.2 A document recording a loan taken by Darajīta Paṇḍita from Bhājupati to buy female slaves (E\_1448\_0037)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1898 (1841 CE); private collection of Cittadhara Hṛdaya, Kathmandu; microfilmed as NGMPP E 1448/37; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36825>.

Edition:

1 श्री \

1 तमसुक सहि

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्री सम्वत् १८९८ साल मिति मार्ग वदि ८ रोज तद्दिने लिषितं धनीक नाम का-  
 2 ठमाडौ नेट पिथ्या न्हुछेको साहु भाजुपति उद्धारिनिक नाम भङ्गरतार वरुया दर-  
 3 जीत पण्डित गत चादिका मोहर रूपैया ---१०१ येक  
 4 सये यक् कर्जा लिजुँ । इन रूपैयाको व्याज सैकडा धान मुरि ७।०। का हिसावले व-  
 5 र्षवन्धमा चुक्ति गरि टारूला । वावत देउरूपिसमेत् जना ३ कमारी किंन्नकन लि-  
 6 जा भनि तमसुक लेषिदिजाँ । यस वाटका साछि मेरा दाज्यू सर्वजीत् पण्डित अंत-  
 7 र साछि चिकं अट्टको तुलसि नारान् सुशुभ्म् ।

Translation:

Śrī

*Tamasuka* signed [by the debtor]

Hail! Written on the 8<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Mārga in the [Vikrama] era year 1898 (1841 CE). I, the debtor (*uddhāriṇīka*) named Darajīta Paṇḍita of Bhaṅgaratāra, have received a loan of 101 silver *mohararupaiyās* from the creditor (*dhanīka, sāhu*) named Bhājupati of Neṭa, Pithyā Nhuche, Kathmandu. I will pay off the interest of this money at an annual rate of 7.1.1 *murīs*<sup>52</sup> of rice grains per hundred [rupees]. I have written this *tamasuka* to attest that I have taken this [loan] in order to purchase 3 female slaves including Deurūpi. The witness of this [from my side] is my elder brother Sarvajīt Paṇḍita, [and] the witness from the other side (*antarasākṣī*) is Tulasi Nārān of Cikaṃ Aṭṭa. [Let there be] auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document is a bond signed by the debtor Darajīta Paṇḍita for receiving a loan of 101 *mohararupaiyās* from a creditor in Kathmandu. The debtor's place of residence, Bhaṅgaratāra, is probably Bhangaltar, a locality north of central Kathmandu and south of Budhanilakantha. The document specifies that the purpose of the loan was to purchase three female slaves.

This document is from the collection of Chittadhara Hṛdaya in Kathmandu.

### 2.3 A sales deed of four slaves in Vaḍahare (K\_0348\_0037)

Edited by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1965 (1908 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 6, Bā. Da. Po. no. 12 Pan. no. 2; microfilmed as NGMPP K 348/37; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.37366>.

### Edition:

1 श्री \

1 ४७<sup>53</sup>

[Fingerprint, most probably of Cūḍāmaṇi Bhaṭṭarāi Jaisī]

52 I.e., 7 *murīs*, 1 *pāthī* and 1 *mānā* per hundred rupees.

53 Added by a second hand in the upper margin.

1 साछी

[Signature of Jimmāvāla Muktinātha Bhaṭṭarāi Jaisī]

1 सीपा वडहरे वश्या जीम्वावाल् मुक्तीनाथ भट्टराई जैसी ---१

[Signature of Loka Bāhādura Bhaṭṭarāi Khatrī]

1 ऐं ऐं वश्या जवरजं[?] पटि सी. लोक वाहादुर भट्टराई षत्री १

[Signature of Sīvadatta Upādhyā Ācārja]

1 ऐं ऐं वश्या सीवदत्त उपाध्या अचारज ---१

[Fingerprint of Dasaratha Duvāl]

1 भादगाऊ मकै छालीं वश्या नाईके दसरथ दुवाल् ---१

[Signature of Jīvarāja Pādhyā]

1 लेषक जीवराज पाध्या वानेश्वर ---१

- 1 लिषितम सिपा वडहरे वश्या रामेश्वर भट्टराई
- 2 जैसीका यका घरका सहोदर छोरा सोही ठाउ वश्रे
- 3 चूडामणी भट्टराई जैसी आगे मेरा घरैया वर्ष २-
- 4 ९ की काली कमारी ज्यू १ को मोलपटक मोह रू
- 5 २०१ दुई सये येक् नीजको जेठो छोरो वर्ष ९ को
- 6 धने कमारो ज्यू १ को मोलपटक मो रू १०१ येक
- 7 सये येक नीजको कांछो [छो]रो वर्ष ७ को मने कमारो
- 8 ज्यू १ को मोलपटक मो रू ९९ नीजको काष-
- 9 की छोरी वर्ष ४ की पुतली कमारी ज्यू १ को मो-
- 10 लपटक रू ९९ स्मेत ज्मा कमारा कमारी ज्यू ४ को
- 11 ज्मा मोलपटक रू ५०० गौराजी पाती मो रू १
- 12 ज्मा मो रू ५०१ अक्षरेपी पान सय यक वानेश्वर-
- 13 र वश्या पीर महंत कुल्मान् गीरीसग वुझी नी-
- 14 ज कमारा कमारी ज्यू ४ पार्ष्णीन्न सुक्रीवी-
- 15 क्री गरी नीज महंतलाई वेच्यां । कीच्याको
- 16 कमारा कमारी ज्यू ४ पाको वेचन्याको दाम्
- 17 पाको । आज अधीको कलरोग दाताको अ-
- 18 व उप्रान्तको कलरोग भुक्ताको । नीज कमा-
- 19 रा कमारी ज्यू ४ अरू कसैलाई हदीभुन्हे ठी-
- 20 क् लेषीदीयाको र दाईजो पेवास्मेत् केही
- 21 ठहर्यो भन्या ऐन वमोजीम् मेरा घर घरानावा-
- 22 ट वुझाउला भनी मेरा मनोमान् षुसीराजी[स]-
- 23 ग कीनाराका साछी सदर गरी परंभट्ट ले[षी]

- 24 नीज पीर महंत कुल्मान् गीरीलाई दीजा । वे[उ]-  
 25 जुर । इती संवत् १९६५ साल् श्रावण १७ ग-  
 26 ते ६ वार शुभ्म् । ---

### Synopsis:

In this sales deed, Cūḍāmaṇī Bhaṭṭarāī Jaisī, son of Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭarāī Jaisī, from Sipā (Sindhupālcok) Vaḍahare sells four slaves—a female slave, Kālī, aged 29; her two sons Dhane and Mane, aged 9 and 7 respectively; and a daughter, Putalī, aged 4—for 501 rupees to Pīra Mahanta Kulmān Giri, a resident of Bāneśvara. The seller agrees to repay the money in accordance with the *Ain* if his ownership of the slaves is disapproved. Cūḍāmaṇī Bhaṭṭarāī Jaisī drew up this *paramabhaṭṭā* which was witnessed by Muktinātha Bhaṭṭarāī Jaisī, Loka Bāhādura Bhaṭṭarāī Khatrī, Sīvadatta Upādhyā Ācārya and Dasaratha Duvāl. The document is dated Friday, the 17<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of the month of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] era year 1965 (1908 CE).

### Commentary:

The same slave, Kālī, appears in the document K\_0348\_0035 (Document 3.1), in which the owner Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭarāī puts her up as collateral for taking out a loan from Narāṃ Kaśna Pradhāna. In document K\_0348\_0036, Rāmeśvara gives power of attorney to Cūḍāmaṇī Bhaṭṭarāī to transact the sale recorded in the current document.

### 2.4 A sales deed recording the purchase of a son of a slave in Khairā Gāū, Pyuthana (K\_0282\_0008)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1966 (1909 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 29, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 282/8; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.44598>.

### Edition:

1 श्री \

1 नं ३३

1 २१

1 १८४ नं

[Fingerprint of Hīma Lāla Ūpādhyā]

1 साछी

[Seal of Gaṇeśa Bāhādura]

1 मुषीया गणेश बाहादुर घर्ति छेत्री पैरा ---१

[Seal of Bhīmārjuna Ūpādhyā]

1 लेषक डीठा भीमार्जुन ऊपाध्या पैरा ---१

[Fingerprint of Guru Prasāda Upādhyā]

1 [गु]रू प्रसाद उपाध्या पैरा ---१

[Seal of Cumāna Sīm Vaśnyāt Chetrī]

1 मु. चुमान सीं वरूयात् छेत्री पैरा ---१

1 सुवेदार दीनानाथ उपाध्या पैरा ---१

- 1 लिषीतम् प्युठाना मध्ये पैरागाऊ व-
- 2 स्ने हीम लाल ऊपाध्या । आगे हामी
- 3 भाई भीन्न हुदा मेरा अंसवंडामा
- 4 लागेको जसे करीया कमाराको छेरो
- 5 करीया लोके भन्त्या कमारो ज्यू १ मेरा
- 6 वीक्री गर्नाको मनसुवा भयाको हुना-
- 7 ले सोही पैरागाऊ वरूया दाजी लो-
- 8 कनाथ पाध्यासंग मोलपटकस्मे-
- 9 त् जमा मोहरू १७२॥ अछेरीपी रूपै-
- 10 जा येक सौ साढे वहतरेमा नीज जेठा
- 11 दाजी लोकनाथ पाध्यालाई मा-
- 12 थि लेषीयाका रूपैजामा मोलपट-
- 13 क् गरी रूपैजा बुझी ली सो लोके कमा
- 14 रो ज्यू १ सोपीदीजा । येस कमाराले म
- 15 वीक्री हुने होईन म अजापत्र हु भ
- 16 न्यो भने मैले सावीत गरुला । सावीत
- 17 गर्न सकीन र अजापुत्र वीक्री गरेको
- 18 ठहर्या सो रूपैजा तीम्ना फिर्ता बुझाई-
- 19 दिऊला । मैले वीक्री गरेको करीया कमा-

- 20 रो लोके तीमी जेठा दाजी लोकनाथ  
21 पाध्याको पङ्का मोल्पटक् वमो-  
22 जीम्का रूपैजा मेरा पङ्का भनी नीज  
23 लोके कमारो ज्यू १ वीक्री गरी लेषीया-  
24 का मोरु १७२॥ बुझी ली मेरा राजीषुसी-  
25 ले परमभट्टको कागज लेषी नीज लो-  
26 कनाथ उपाध्यालाई दिजा । येस वेहो-  
27 राका साछि फट्के पट्टी लेषीयाका ष-  
28 डा छन् । ईती सम्बत् १९६६ साल् मीती  
29 श्रावण सुदि ३ रोज ३ श्रावण ५ गते ।  
30 शुभम् । ---

Translation:

*Śrī*

No. 33

21

No. 184

[Fingerprint of Hīma Lāla Upādhyā]

Witnesses:

[Seal of Gaṇeśa Bāhādura]: Mukhiyā Gaṇeśa Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī  
[of] Khairā

[Seal of Bhīmārjuna Upādhyā]: Scribe Ḍiṭṭhā Bhīmārjuna Upādhyā  
[of] Khairā

[Fingerprint of Guru Prasāda Upādhyā]: Guru Prasāda Upādhyā [of]  
Khairā

[Seal of Cumāna Siṃ Basnyāt Chetrī]: Mu. Cumāna Siṃ Basnyāt  
Chetrī [of] Khairā

Subedāra Dīnānātha Upādhyā [of] Khairā



Written by Hīma Lāla Upādhyā, resident of Khairā Gāū within Pyuthana.

Āge: Since I wish to sell 1 household slave boy (*kariyā kamāro*) named Loke, son of the male household slave Jase—[whom I received] among my share of the property when we brothers split up, I have received a total of 172 *mohararupaiyās 2 sukās*, in words one hundred seventy-two and a half rupees, from [my] elder brother Lokanātha Pādhyā, resident of the same Khairā Gāū, and have handed over the slave Loke—1 person (*ḥyū*, lit. “body”) —to him. In case this slave says: “I am not to be sold. I am a free person (*ajāputra*),” I shall prove [him wrong]. If I cannot do so and if it is determined that a free person has been sold [by me], I will return your money. [From now on] the household slave Loke I have sold belongs to you, [my] elder brother Lokanātha Pādhyā, and the agreed amount of money belongs to me. After selling the aforementioned slave Loke—1 person—and receiving 172 *mohararupaiyās 2 sukās* as written [above], I wrote [this] *paramabhaṭṭa* deed willingly, and handed it over to the aforementioned Lokanātha Upādhyā. The [persons whose names are] written in the margin are standing witness to these particulars.

Tuesday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa, the 5<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] era year 1966 (1909 CE). Auspiciousness.

## 2.5 A document recording the sale of three slaves at Madanapura, Pyuthana (K\_0281\_0049)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1967 (1910 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 10, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 281/49; for the digital edition, see: <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/27495>.

Edition:

1 [श्री ]

1 नं ८

1 १६१ नं

1 [Fingerprint of Gokula Jaisī Regmī]

- 1 लिखितम् पीयूठाना मध्ये भीमूरी मदनपूरगाउ व-  
 2 सने म गोकुल जइसी रेगमी । आगे मैले परमभट्ट  
 3 गरी पीयूठाना गेजवाङ् वसने गोदार थापासग  
 4 मोरूँपैजा ६२५ मा जीउ ४ लियाकोमा पार्वती भन्ये  
 5 कमारी टाकुरा वसने पंडीत् वामदेव उपाध्यालाइ  
 6 मोरूँ १४५ मा परमभट्ट गरी दियेको । हाल सो म-  
 7 ध्ये मेरा करीया कमारा कमारी तने कमारो ज्यू १  
 8 धनी कमारी जीउ १ गौरी कमारी ज्यू १ निजहरूको  
 9 मोल मोरूँ ४८३॥ मा निज टाकुरा वसने पंडी-  
 10 त् वामदेव उपाध्यालाइ सोपीदिजा ।  
 11 आजदेखि निज कमारा कमारीको कालफाल  
 12 तिंभ्रो जालझेल् मेरा भनि कसैले कर नलगा -  
 13 इ मेरा मनोमान खुशी राजीले परमभट्टपत्र  
 14 लेपी आजदेखि इनि जीउ ३ करिया कमारा क-  
 15 मारीमा मेरो लाग नास्ति भनि सोपीदिजा । यो प-  
 16 रमभट्टका साछी तपसीलमा खडा छन् । ---  
 17 तपसील्  
 18 मदनपूर वसने गंडुगाधर रेगमी जैसी ---१  
 19 ऐं वसने पाराशर रेगमी जैसी ---१  
 20 ऐं वसने भांनुप्रसाद जैसी रेगमी ---१  
 21 ऐं वसने मुषिया चन्द्रमणि रेगमी जैसी ---१  
 22 ऐं वसने सालग्राम रेगमी जैसी ---१  
 23 ऐं वसने रवि लाल रेगमी जैसी ---१  
 24 ऐं वसने चूडामणि खत्री छेत्री ---१  
 25 ऐं वसने चन्द्रे खत्री छेत्री ---१  
 26 लेखक स्वर्गद्वारा अखंड यज्ञमा वसने  
 27 दीक्षीत बलराम उपाध्याय अचार्य ---१  
 28 इति संवत् १९६७ साल आश्विन २७ गते वार ४  
 29 शुभम् ---१

[Fingerprint of Gaṅgādhara Regmī Jaisī]

[Fingerprint of Bhāṃnuprasāda Jaisī Regmī]

[Fingerprint of Candramaṇi Regmī Jaisī]

[Fingerprint of Sālagrāma Regmī Jaisī]

[Fingerprint of Ravi Lāla Regmī Jaisī]

[Fingerprint of Cūḍāmaṇi Khatrī Kṣetrī]

[Fingerprint of Chandre Khatrī Kṣetrī]

[Signature of Balarāma Upādhyāya Achārja]

Translation:

*Śrī*

Number 8

Number 161

[Fingerprint of Gokula Jaisī Regmī]

Written by Gokula Jaisī Regmī, resident of Madanapura village, Bhīmī in Pyuthana.

*Āge*: Of the 4 persons (*jiu*, lit. “bodies”) that, a *paramabhṭṭā* deed having been drawn up, I bought for 625 *mohararupaiyās* from Godāra Thāpā, a resident of Gejabān, Pyuthana, I [earlier] gave (i.e., sold) the female slave named Pārvatī to Paṇḍita Bāmadeva Upādhyā of Ṭākūrā. Now, of this (group of slaves), I have handed over to the aforementioned Paṇḍita Bāmadeva Upādhyā of Ṭākūrā my household (*kariyā*) slaves—the male slave Tane – 1, the female slave Dhanī – 1, and the female slave Gaurī – 1—for 483 *mohararupaiyās* and 2 *sukās* as the price for them. I have written this *paramabhṭṭā* deed willingly, without anyone obliging [me] to, and have handed it over [to Bāmadeva], stating: “From today on, any prior commitments (*kālaphāla*<sup>54</sup>) of the aforementioned slaves are yours, and any (former) deceit (on their part toward me) is mine. From today onward I have no claim to these 3 *kariyā* slaves.” In the list (below) are the witnesses to this *paramabhṭṭā*.

Particulars (*tapasila*):

Gaṅgādhara Regmī Jaisī, resident of Madanapura – 1

Pārāśara Regmī Jaisī, resident of the same – 1

Bhāmnuprasāda Jaisī Regmī, resident of the same – 1

Mukhiyā Candramaṇi Regmī Jaisī, resident of the same – 1

Sālagrāma Regmī Jaisī, resident of the same – 1

Ravi Lāla Regmī Jaisī, resident of the same – 1

Cūḍāmaṇi Khatrī Chetrī, resident of the same – 1

Candre Khatrī Chetrī, resident of the same – 1

The scribe Dīkṣita Balarāma Upādhyāya Acārja, resident of Svargadvārā [and a performer of] *akhaṇḍa yajña* (a perpetual fire sacrifice) – 1

54 *Nepālī Br̥hat Śabdakośa* gives the meaning of *kālaphāla* as a commitment made between two persons to prosper or die together (cf. Upreti et al., s.v. *kālaphāla*).

Wednesday, the 27<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] era year 1967 (1910 CE). Auspiciousness.

[Fingerprint of Gaṅgādhara Regmī Jaisī]  
[Fingerprint of Bhāṃnuprasāda Jaisī Regmī]  
[Fingerprint of Candramaṇi Regmī Jaisī]  
[Fingerprint of Sālagrāma Regmī Jaisī]  
[Fingerprint of Ravi Lāla Regmī Jaisī]  
[Fingerprint of Cūḍāmaṇi Khatrī Kṣetrī]  
[Fingerprint of Chandre Khatrī Kṣetrī]  
[Signature of Balarāma Upādhyāya Achārja]

### Commentary:

The place Bhīmī mentioned in the document is probably present-day Bhiṅgri, a village development committee in Pyuthana. Madanapura is one of the villages within the VDC. Gejabān lies within Dharmavati VDC of Pyuthana. Svargadvārā, also known as Svargadvārī, is within Bhiṅgri VDC.

### 2.6 A sales deed of a slave child in Pyuthana issued by Bhiu Siṃ Ghartī Magar (K\_0282\_0002)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1974 (1917 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 23, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 282/2; for the digital edition, see: <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/27501>.

### Edition:

1 श्री \

1 नं २५

1 १७७ नं

[Unknown fingerprint]

1 साच्चि

[Fingerprint of Saṃtavira Puṃ]

- 2 दाम्रिगा-
- 3 उं वस्त्रे घाट्-
- 4 बुढा संतविर
- 5 पुं ---१

- 1 सहि दाम्रि व-
- 2 स्त्रे षिमानं-
- 3 द पाध्ये १

- 1 सहि कलम-
- 2 का साच्छि दा-
- 3 म्रि वस्त्रे परिच्छेत् पा-
- 4 ध्ये १

- 1 लेषितम् पियुठाना मध्ये लेघागाउ
- 2 वस्त्रे मुषिया भिउ सिं घर्ति मगर ।
- 3 म आगे वर्ष ९ भयाकि मनक-
- 4 लि भंने मेरि कमारि मेरा साव-
- 5 गास्ले र दुष दर्दले धानं नसक्-
- 6 नाले दाम्रिगाउ वस्त्रे साहु सोभा-
- 7 राम् पुंले सो कमारिको मोल् मो-
- 8 होर रु ३३० अंके अछे-
- 9 रि तिं सय तिस् रूपैजा दिदा मे
- 10 रो चित बुझ्यो । मोहोर रू तिं सय
- 11 तिस् बुझि परम्भट लेषि दिजा ।
- 12 यस्मा मेरि कमारि मनकलि भं-
- 13 नेका अंग रोग छारे कुष्टि चंरि-
- 14 फाड केहि षोट ठहरेछ रहेछ भ-
- 15 ने तिमि साहु सोभाराम् पुंका रू-
- 16 पैजा फिर्ता गरिदिम्ला भनि मे-
- 17 रि कमारि मनकलि सोभाराम् पुं-
- 18 लाई दिजा । यस्मा कसैले कर नलाइ मे-
- 19 रो चित बुझि मेरो मनोमान पुसि रा-
- 20 जिले परम्भटको कागत लेषि दाम्-
- 21 रिगाउ वस्त्रे सोभाराम् पुंलाइ दि-
- 22 जा । साच्छि किनारमा लेषि सहि छाप
- 23 दियका सदर छं । इति सम्वत् १९-
- 24 ७४ साल जेष्ठ दिन गते १५ वार
- 25 २ सुभम् । ---

Translation:

Śrī

No. 25

No. 177

[Unknown fingerprint]

Witnesses:

[Fingerprint of Saṃtavira Puṃ]: Ghāṭbuḍhā Saṃtavira Puṃ, resident of Dāmri Gāū – 1

Signature: Khimānanda Pādhye, resident of Dāmri – 1

Signature: witness of the pen (i.e., the scribe) Parichet Pādhye, resident of Dāmri – 1

Written by Mukhiyā Bhiu Siṃ Ghartī Magara, resident of Leghā Gāū within Pyuthana.

*Āge*: I have not been able to support the nine-year-old slave girl of mine named Manakali because of my [current] economic status and [other] troubles. Therefore, I was persuaded when the merchant Śobhārām Puṃ, resident of Dāmri Gāū, [offered to] give me 330 *mohararupaiyās*, in words three hundred thirty rupees, as the price of the slave. I have written this *paramabhaṭṭā* and handed it over [to him] after receiving the *mohararupaiyās* three hundred thirty. In it I have given my slave Manakali to you, [with the pledge] to return to you, Śobhārām Puṃ, the money if she is proven to have any defect of limb or [such] blemishes [as] epilepsy, leprosy or skin disorders (*caṃriphāḍa*). I have written this deed of *paramabhaṭṭā* willingly, without anyone putting [me] to it, and have handed it over to Śobhārām Puṃ, resident of Dāmri Gāū. The witnesses and the signatures written in the margin are valid.

Monday, the 15<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Jyeṣṭha in the [Vikrama] era year 1974 (1917 CE). Auspiciousness.

2.7 A sales deed of a slave in Bādikoṭ, Pyuthana area  
(K\_0282\_0020)

Edited and translated by Axel Michaels; Dated VS 1975 (1919 CE);  
Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 41, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; microfilmed  
as NGMPP K 282/20; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36936>.

Edition:

- 1 श्री \
- 1 न ४७
- 1 १९९ नं

[Signature of Budhirām]  
[Signature of Bumāṃ Pādhye]  
[Signature of Dhanu Khatrī Chetrī]  
[Signature of Himārām Pādhye]

- 1 साछि
- 2 तुसार वश्रे वुमां पाध्ये १
- 3 ऐं वश्रे हिमाराम् पाध्ये १
- 4 वाडिको[ट्] वेवरे वश्रे धनु षत्री छेत्री १

- 1 ल्येषितम् प्युठाना वाडिकोट् वेवरे वश्रे बुधिराम् वा-
- 2 हुंम । आगे मेरा घरकि करिय हिमी कमारी वर्ष १-
- 3 ९ किको मोल पट्टक् गौराईसमेत् मोहो रू ४१८
- 4 चार सय अठारमा प्युठाना तुसारा वश्रे विदु गिरिलाई
- 5 दिया । आजदेषी लीनेको जिउ पाको वेच्नेको थै-
- 6 लि पाको । आज अहिलेको पुं षता वेच्नेको । आजदेषि
- 7 पछि पुं षता लि भनि कसैले कर नला । मेरा मो<sup>55</sup>मा-
- 8 न षुसी राजिले मोहो रू ४१८ चार सय अठार-
- 9 को परम्भट्टिको कागज लेषि प्युठाना तुसारा वश्रे
- 10 विदु गिरिलाई दीज्या । यो परम्भट्टि कागज लेषेको
- 11 प्युठाना तुसारा वश्रे विदु गिरीका घरमा लेषेको हो ।
- 12 लेष्ने मानिस् प्युठाना वाडिकोट् वेवरे वश्रे बुद्धि-

55 Read: *mano*.

- 13 राम् वाहुं । यो परम्भट्टिका साछि किनाराले सहि छा-  
14 प् गरेका सदर छं । ईति सम्बत् १९७५ साल माघ २२  
15 गते वार ३ । सुभम् ।

Translation:

Śrī

No. 47

No. 199

[Signature of Budhirām Bāhuṃ]

[Signature of Bumām Pādhye]

[Signature of Dhanu Khatrī Chetrī]

[Signature of Himārām Pādhye]

Witnesses:

Bumām Pādhye, resident of Tusārā – 1; Himārām Pādhye, resident of idem [Tusārā] – 1; Dhanu Khatrī Chetrī, resident of Bevare of Bāḍikoṭ – 1

Written by Budhirām Bāhuṃ, resident of Bevare of Bāḍikoṭ [in] Pyuthana [district].

*Āge*: I have given to Vidu Giri, resident of Tusārā, the female household slave Himī, aged 19 from my house, at a price of *mohararūpaiyās* 418, [in words] four hundred eighteen, including the earnest money (*gaurāī*). From today onwards, the taker owns the body [of the slave and] the seller owns the money (*thailī*). Today the current deficiencies [of the slave] belong to the seller. After today nobody should force [the seller] to take the responsibilities of her deficiencies. I have happily and of my own will written [this] document, a deed of sale for a slave (*parambhaṭṭī*) [priced] at *mohararūpaiyā* 418, [in words] four hundred eighteen, and handed it over to Vidu Giri, resident of Tusārā, Pyuthana. This document [containing] the *parambhaṭṭī* was written in the house of Vidu Giri, resident of Tusārā, Pyuthana. The scribe is Budhirām Bāhuṃ, resident of Bevare of Bāḍikoṭ, Pyuthana. The signatures and stamps of the witnesses of this *parambhaṭṭī* in the margin are valid.

Tuesday, the 22<sup>nd</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Māgha in the [Vikrama] era year 1975 (1919 CE). Auspiciousness.



2.8 A sales deed of three slaves in Kārḱī Ḍāḱḱā (K\_0282\_0047)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1975 (1919 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 68, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 282/47; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36937>.

Edition:

- 1 श्री \
- 1 स्वस्ति
- 1 नं ८२
- 1 68
- 1 २३४ नं
- 1 साछी श्री सुर्जनाराये[ण] साछी ---१
- 2 श्री कालीकामाजी साछी ---१
- 3 श्री गोरषनाथजी ---१
- 4 साछी

[Unknown seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्री विर्ता कार्की डाडा वस्त्रे मु वाहादुर कार्की छे-
- 2 त्रीवाट । प्रभु हुम्नाथले लयका<sup>56</sup> कमारो जसे कमारो ज्यू १ कामारि<sup>57</sup> काली
- 3 ज्यू १ कामारि छौडडी लछी ज्यू १ जम्मा ज्यू ३ मोहो-
- 4 रू ५{...}४१ । बुजीलीजा । नीजहरूको परंम्भट्टा
- 5 गरिदीजा । ईती सम्बत् १९७५ साल फाल्गुण
- 6 २४ गते वार ७ । सुभम् । ---[Unknown seal]

Translation:

Śrī

56 Read: *lagekā*.

57 Read: *kamāri*.

Hail!

Number 82

68

Number 234

Witnesses:

Witness Śrī Surjanārāyaṇa – 1

Witness Śrī Kālīkā Māī – 1

Witness Śrī Gorakhanātha – 1

[Unknown seal]

Hail! [Issued] by Mu.<sup>58</sup> Bāhādura Kārki Chetrī, resident of Kārki Ḍāḍā. [I] have received *mohararupaiyā* 541 [for] a total of 3 slave-persons (*juū*)—slave-boy Jase – 1, slave-girl Kālī – 1 [and] slave-girl Chauṇḍī Lachī – 1—taken (i.e., bought) by Prabhu Humnātha. I have issued [this] *paramabhaṭṭā* of the aforementioned slaves.

Saturday, the 24<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Phālguna in the [Vikrama] era year 1975 (1919 CE). Auspiciousness.

[Unknown seal]

Commentary:

The three names listed as the witnesses in the left margin are apparently the names of deities. It is unusual to name the deities as witnesses in a sales deed. One of the slave-girl mentioned in the document has the term *chauṇḍī* in her name. This word (var. *chauḍī*) refers to a young female slave or a female child born of a slave.

## 2.9 A sales deed of two slaves in Pyuthana (K\_0282\_0003)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1980 (1923 CE); Guṭhī Saṁsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 24, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 282/3; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.44595>.

58 Probably an abbreviation for *mukhiyā*.

Edition:

1 श्री \

1 न २६

1 २५

1 १७८ नं

1 सही चंद्र

2 वाहादुर थापा

3 क्षत्री

1 साछि [Fingerprint of Setu Mahat Chetrī] सेतु महत् क्षत्री ---१

1 स्ही हिक्मत् सीं वाहा-

2 दुर क्षत्री ---१

3 सिंहविर थापा क्षत्री ---१

- 1 लेषितम् अर्घा अर्जु वस्त्रे चंद्र वाहा-
- 2 दुर थापा क्षत्री । म आग्य मेरा घरका
- 3 किनुजा<sup>59</sup> करि[या] रामे कमारो गंगि क-
- 4 मारि सम्त<sup>60</sup> जाना २ को मोल् मो-
- 5 होरू ६६५ अंके मोहोरू छ सय पै-
- 6 षठीमा प्युठां वाडिकोट वस्त्रे छं
- 7 तु चुजालि उपाध्येलाई लेषिजा-
- 8 का रूपैजा लि निज रामे कमारो गं-
- 9 गि कमारिको परम्भट्टको
- 10 कागज लेषि निज छंतु पाध्येला-
- 11 ई दिजा । यस परम्भट्टका साछि
- 12 फके<sup>61</sup> किनारमा लेषि स<sup>62</sup> छाप ग-
- 13 रेका सदर छं । यो परम्भट्ट ले-
- 14 षेको हिक्मत् वाहादुर साहु-
- 15 का घर दलांमाहा । ईति सम्वत्
- 16 १९८० साल वैसाक गते १० वा-
- 17 र १ सुभम् । ---

59 Read: *kinvā*.

60 Read: *samet*.

61 Read: *phaṭke*.

62 Read: *sahī*.

Translation:

Śrī

No. 26

24

No. 178

Signature: Candra Bāhādura Thāpā Chetrī

Witnesses:

[Fingerprint]: Setu Mahat Chetrī – 1

Signature: Hikmat Siṃ Bāhādura Chetrī – 1

Signature: Siṃhavira Thāpā Chetrī – 1

Written by Candra Bāhādura Thāpā Chetrī, resident of Arghā Arjuṃ.

*Āge*: After 665 *mohararupaiyās*, in words six hundred sixty-five, was written to Chamttu Cujāli Upādhye, a resident of Bādikoṭ [in] Pyuthana, as the price for two purchased household slaves (*kariyā*) of my house—the male slave Rāme and the female slave Gaṃgi—I have [now] received the sum and written a *paramabhaṭṭā* document regarding the said male slave Rāme and female slave Gaṃgi, and handed it over to aforementioned Chamttu Pādhye.

[The names of] the witnesses to this *paramabhaṭṭā* written in the margin with their signatures are valid. This *paramabhaṭṭā* was written on the veranda of the house of the *sāhu* Hikmat Bāhādura.

Sunday, the 10<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] era year 1980 (1923 CE). Auspiciousness.

## 2.10 A deed recording the sale of a slave in Bādikoṭ, Pyuthana (K\_0282\_0004)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1980 (1923 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 25, Bā. Da. Po. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 282/4; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.44596>.

Edition:

- 1 [श्री \]
- 1 १२
- 1 २७
- 1 १७९ नं

[Seal reading Śrī Cetamāna Siṃ]

- 1 सही चेत्-
- 2 मां वादिकोद्
- 1 साछि

[Fingerprint]

- 1 प्युठाना वादि-
- 2 कोद् वश्रे सा हि-
- 3 क्मत् सिं वाहादुर महत् छेत्रि ---१

[Fingerprint]

- 1 ऐं वस्त्रे सेर वाहा-
- 2 दुर षत् छेत्री ---१

[Signature of Lalit Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī]

- 1 लेषत् ऐं वस्त्रे
- 2 ललित् वाहादुर घ-
- 3 र्ति छेत्रि ---१

- 1 लेषितम् प्युठाना मध्ये वादिकोटगाउ वश्रे चेत्मां सिं घर्ति
- 2 छेत्रि । म आग्ये मेरा घरकि कित्नुवा वर्ष १५ कि षिमि भंने क-
- 3 रिया कमारि १ के मोल् मोहरू ३०१ अछेरुपि तिन सये येक-
- 4 मा स्व वादिकोद् वस्त्रे सुंदर वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रिलाई निज क-
- 5 मारिको मोल्पटक् सो लेषियाका रूपैजा ३०१ को परम्भट्ट
- 6 गरि निज कमारि षिमीको परम्भट्ट गरिदिजा । यो कमारि
- 7 कसैका दिक् वंदकमा लेषिदियाको छैन । कसैका दिक् वंदक-
- 8 मा लेषिदियाको ठहर्यो भने ऐन वमोजिम् म बुझाम्ला
- 9 भनि मेरा राजिले निज सुंदर वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रीलाई निज

- 10 षिमिको मोल्पटक् दुवो वैनु<sup>63</sup> समेत् परम्भट्ट गरिदिजा ।  
11 येस कमारिको षुनषत् छारेरोग झैझगडा केहि आज अ-  
12 धिको दनेको<sup>64</sup> र आजपछिको लिनेको भनि मेरा मनोमा-  
13 न षुसिराजिले निज सुंदर वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रिलाई परम्भ-  
14 ट्ट गरिदिजा । यो परम्भट्ट लेषेको मुकाम स्व वादिको<sup>65</sup> षिम्  
15 विक्रम् वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रिका घरमा स्वहि गाउ वसने ललि-  
16 त् वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रिले लेषेको हो । येस परम्भट्टका सा-  
17 छि पड्के<sup>66</sup> किनारामा लेषियाका सद्र छं । इति सम्बत् १९८०  
18 साल् भाद्र १२ गते वार ३ शुभम् । ---

Translation:

Śrī

12

27

Number 179

[Seal reading Śrī Cetamāna Siṃ]

Signature: Cetmān [of] Bādikoṭ

Witnesses:

[Fingerprint]: Sā Hikmat Siṃ Bāhādura Mahat Chetrī, resident of Bādikoṭ, Pyuṭhānā

[Fingerprint]: Ser Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī, resident of the same

[Signature]: Lalit Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī, resident of the same

Written by Cetmān Siṃ Ghartī Chetrī, resident of Bādikoṭ Village within [the territory of] Pyuthana.

Āge: For 301 *mohararupaiyās*, in words three hundred one, as the price of 1 previously bought 15-year-old female *kariyā* slave of my

63 Read: *bainā*.

64 Read: *dineko*.

65 Read: *vādikoṭ*.

66 Read: *phaṭke*.

house named Khimi, I have written [this] *paramabhaṭṭa* deed, [recording] the stated price of 301 *rupaiyās* [for] my own slave, and handed it over to Sundara Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī, resident of the aforesaid Bādikoṭ. This slave has not been assigned as a pledge (*dika bandaka*) to anyone else. If it is proven that [she] has been assigned as a pledge to anyone else, I will make compensation according to the law (*ain*). I have willingly agreed to the price (*mol paṭak*), [accepted] *dubo bainā*<sup>67</sup> for the aforementioned slave, written this *paramabhaṭṭa*, and handed it over to the aforementioned Sundara Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī. Regarding this slave, any [bodily] faults (*khunakhat*), [such as] epilepsy, [or] conflicts [with anyone else] are until today [the responsibility] of the giver. After today, [the responsibility] will be of the taker. I have freely and of my own volition prepared [this] *paramabhaṭṭa* and handed it over to the aforementioned Sundara Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī. This *paramabhaṭṭa* was scribed at the house of Khim Vikrama Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī, [of] the aforesaid Bādikoṭ, by Lalit Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī of the same aforesaid village. The witnesses written in the margin of this *paramabhaṭṭa* are valid.

Tuesday, the 12<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Bhādra in the [Vikrama] era year 1980 (1923 CE). Auspiciousness.

### 3. Documents on Bondservitude

#### 3.1 A bond formalizing a money loan in which a slave has been put up as collateral (K\_0348\_0035)

Edited by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1962 (1906 CE); Guṭhī Saṁsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 4, Bā. Da. Po. no. 12 Pan. no. 2; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 348/35; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36998>.

Edition:

1 श्री \

1 4

67 *Bainā* is the earnest money paid to seal a transaction. *Dubo bainā* here perhaps refers to a form of payment in which *dubo* (Skt. *dūrvā*) panic grass is given to the seller in lieu of actual earnest money.

1 ४९

[Fingerprint of Narāṃ Kaśna Pradhāna] साछी

[Fingerprint of Muktinātha Jaisi]

1 वडहरे वश्रे मुक्तिनाथ जैसि ---१

[Fingerprint of Vindā Ṭhakurni]

1 ऐं वश्रे विन्दा ठकुर्नि ---१

[Seal of Dalamardan Khatrī Kṣet]

1 [?] सुवेदार दलमर्दन् षत्री क्षेत ---१

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री सम्बत् १९६२ साल मिति माघ २४ गते रोज ३ तस दि-
- 2 ने लेषितम् धनिका नाम चौतारा वश्रे नरां कश्च प्रधान
- 3 वेहोरिनिका नाम सिपा वडहरेगाउ वश्रे रामेश्वर जैसि
- 4 गतलिह चादिका मोह रू १०० अंकेपि येक सये कर्जा लीया
- 5 वापत् साहु देवनारां दुलाल्लाई तिर्न भनि लियाको साचो हो ।
- 6 सो रुपैयाको नाफा मैन्हा १ को मोह २ र सावास्मेत येही
- 7 ६२ सालका फागुनभरमा बुझाउला । सो धनको धितो मे-
- 8 रा घरकि कालि कमारी वर्ष २५ कि वंधक लेषि दियाको छु ।
- 9 लेषियाका भाकामा रूपैया बुझाउन सकिन भने सो लेषि-
- 10 याकी कालि कमारी पंचकिर्ति मोलमा सुक्रिविक्रि ग-
- 11 री लिनु मेरो वेउजुर भनी मेरा मनोमान षुसिराजीसंग
- 12 तमसुक लेषि निज साहुलाई दिजा । यो धन ली तमसुक
- 13 लेषनाका साछि फड्के पट्टि लेषियाका सदर सुभम् । ---

### Synopsis:

This is a loan document through which Rāmeśvara Jaisi, a resident of Sipā (Sindhupālcok) Vaḍahare Gāū, borrows 100 *mohararupaīyās* at the interest of 2 *moharas*<sup>68</sup> per month from the creditor Narāṃ Kaśna Pradhāna, a resident of Cautārā. He borrows this amount to pay back a sum owed to the *sāhu* Devanārāṃ Dulāl. The debtor has drawn up *tamasuka* and puts a female slave named Kāli up as collateral. According to the document, if the debtor is unable to clear the debt with interest by the end of the next month, Phālguṇa, the creditor can sell the slave to recoup his money. The document is dated Tuesday, the

68 An eight-*ānā* coin.



24<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of the month of Māgha of the [Vikrama] era year 1962 (1906 CE).

The witnesses to this document are: Muktinātha Jaisi, Vindā Ṭhakurni and Subedāra Dalamardan Khatrī Kṣet.

### Commentary:

The slave Kāli mentioned here also appears in a document written three years later, K\_0348\_0037 (Document 2.3), through which she was sold along with her three children.

### 3.2 A loan agreement involving the debtor's own son put up as collateral (E\_1544\_0020)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1942 (1885 CE); Private collection of B.R. Bajracharya, Patan; microfilmed as NGMPP E 1544/20; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.37359>.

### Edition:

1 श्री \

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री सम्बत् १९४२ साल मिति श्रावण शुदि ७ रोज २ तद्दीन्ये लिषितम् धनिक नाम् सहर पाटन् गुइत
- 2 ल् तेभ्<sup>69</sup> वरूया मुनिधं वाडा रिनिक् नाम् निज पाटन् वाछु ननि वरूया भानिदास् लिहलगत चादीका मो-
- 3 हर रूपैजा २४ अक्षेरूपि चौविस् कर्जा लि[या] वावत् मेरो छोराको वर्तमन् निमित्त लियाको ईन रूपैजाको
- 4 व्यास्<sup>70</sup> दसौदका हिसापले तिरूलां । रूपै[जा] तिर्नको भाषा यसै सालका मंगसिर मैन्हाभरमा चुक्ति गरि
- 5 बुझाउला । ईन रूपैजामध्ये धितो मेरो छोरा लेषिदिज्यू । सो भाषामा रूपैजा चुक्ति गरि बुझाउन सके-
- 6 न भन्ये सो धितो साहुका घरमा ल्याई राषनु भनि मेरा मनोमान पुसिराजिसंग तम-
- 7 सुक लेषि निज साहुलाई दिज्यू । येस वाटका साछी काका धिवसिं वाडा न्हुसिधं वाडा लेषक सा-
- 8 छी सितिदास् । मिति सदर शुभ् ।

69 Read: *tola*?

70 Read: *byāja*.

## Translation:

Śrī

Hail! Written on Monday, the 7<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] era year 1942 (1885 CE).

[I], the debtor named Bhānidās, resident of Vāchu Nani in Patan, have taken a loan of *mohararupaiyās* 24 in silver legal currency (*lihalagata*), in words twenty-four, from the creditor named Munidhaṃ Bāḍā, resident of Guital in the city of Patan. The interest on this money, which I have taken for my son's *bartaman*<sup>71</sup>, I will pay at a rate of ten percent. As for the solemn promise to return the money, I will pay it in full by the month of Maṅsira of this current year. For the [borrowed] money, I have put up my [own] son as collateral. If I cannot pay the money in full by the promised [date], the collateral shall be taken to the house of the aforementioned creditor. I have written this agreement (*tamasuka*) willingly, and have handed it over to the creditor.

The witnesses to this deed are: [my] father's younger brother(s) Dhivasīṃ Bāḍā [and] Nhusidhaṃ Bāḍā; and the scribe [and] witness Sītīdās. The date is valid. Auspiciousness.

## Commentary:

This document is an example of how debt bondage functioned in Nepal. Bhānidās had to borrow money for his son's *vratabandha* ritual, but had nothing other than his own son (probably the same one) to put up as surety for it. Failure to return this money would result in his son becoming a bondservant (*bādhā*) in the creditor's house.

71 *Bartaman* (Skt. *vratabandhana*, “binding to an observance”) is the life-cyclic initiation ritual by which a boy becomes a full-fledged member of his caste and lineage (cf. Zotter 2010: 17).

### 3.3 A loan deed wherein Padma Jaṅg Sāha pledges a servant child as security to Ḍaṃbara Kumārī Devī (K\_0210\_0064)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1956 (1900 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Bālakumārī Guṭhī, Po. 2 Ka. Ko. Gu.; microfilmed as NGMPP K 210/64; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/31338>.

Edition:

- 1 साछी
- 2 हरीसीधी वस्त्रे इन्द्रवीर कार्कि ---१
- 3 पाटन वैलछे वरूया साहु लाल ---१
- 4 लेषत प्रति सोहस्त ---१
- 1 स्वस्ति श्री सम्वत १९५६ साल मीति फागुण वदि ९ रोज ६ तद्दिने लिषीतम धनी-
- 2 क नाम डम्बर कुमारि देवी सुब्बेनी ब्राह्मणी असामी धनवेहोरिणीक नाम
- 3 पाल्पा तान्सें घर हुने वाग्मति पुलनेरा वरूया चौतरीया पद्म जं साह लिहल
- 4 चादीका मोहरू ४६॥ अक्षेरूपी साडे छयालीस कर्जा लीजा । वावत् ५५ सा-
- 5 लका सवारि षर्च गर्ना नीमीत्त लीयाको हुं । सो सालमा तमसुक नलेषी रूपैआ
- 6 लीयाको हुनाले सो रूपैआ लीयाका सालदेषी नफा कवोल् स-
- 7 येकडा दसौदीका दर्ले ज्येष्ठ मैन्हाभरमा बुझाउला । सो भाषामा बुझाउन
- 8 सकीन भने मसीत नभयाको हुनाले मेरा घर्का रामवदन भंने सुसारे
- 9 वर्ष ९ को पंचकिर्ति गरीलीनु भनि मेरा मनोमान षुसीराजीसंग तमसुक
- 10 लेषी मजकुर साहुलाइ दीजा । येस बेहोराको साछि फट्केमा लेषीया-
- 11 को छ । सम्वत मीति सदर शुभम् । —

Translation:

Witnesses:

Indravīra Kārki, resident of Harīsīdhī<sup>72</sup> – 1

Sāhu Lāla, resident of Vailache<sup>73</sup>, Patan – 1

*lekhata prati sohasta*<sup>74</sup> – 1

72 Harisiddhi is a town in Lalitpur, to the south-east of Patan.

73 Probably Bhelāchē, a locality to the north-east of Patan Darbar Square.

74 The meaning is unclear. The scribe seems to be listed as one of the witnesses. Perhaps the meaning can be derived as: [The witness] to [the authenticity of] the document is [the writer's] own hand.

Hail! Written on Friday, the 9<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Phāguna in the [Vikrama] era year 1956 (1900 CE). I, the debtor named Cautarīyā Padma Jaṅg Sāha, whose house [originally] is in Tānsen, Pālpā and [who currently] resides near the Vāgmatī bridge, have received a loan of 46½ current silver *mohararupaiyās*, in words forty-six and a half, from the creditor named Ḍambara Kumārī Devī, the Brahmin *subbenī*<sup>75</sup>. I took [the loan] for covering the cost of a trip (*savārī*) in the year [19]55.<sup>76</sup> I took the loan in that year without drawing up a loan agreement (*tamasuka*). I will pay [the amount, together with] the agreed interest of ten percent starting from the year I took the loan, by the month of Jyeṣṭha. If I cannot repay [the amount] by the promised [date] on account of not having [the money], my 9-year-old housemaid (*susāre*) named Rāmavadana shall be taken after [her price] is determined by the five village notables (*paṃcakīrti garī*). I have written this agreement willingly, and have handed it over to the aforementioned (*majakura*) creditor.

The witnesses to this deed are written in the margin. The date is valid. Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This loan agreement between the debtor Padma Jaṅg Sāha and the creditor Ḍambara Kumārī Devī takes a standard form. The debtor is originally from Palpa, but currently a resident near Vāgmatī bridge. The creditor's place of residence is not mentioned. One can, however, assume that she is from Patan as both the witnesses to the deed are from Patan and that the deed was likely drawn up in the city. It is stipulated that the debtor's household servant Rāmavadan is to be surrendered to the creditor upon failure to repay the loan amount. The deed doesn't expressly call her a pledge, and this would mean that she was assigned as a non-usufructuary pledge.

75 I.e., the wife of a *subbā*.

76 It is not clear whether the loan was taken for his own trip or somebody else's.

3.4 A document recording a loan taken by Vīkmāṃ Bhoṭe  
from Kulmāna Giri, with a son pledged as security  
(K\_0348\_0040)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1956 (1900 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 9, Bā. Da. Po. no. 12 Pan. no. 2; microfilmed as NGMPP K 348/40; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.44600>.

Edition:

- 1 श्री \
- 1 १
- 1 ४४

[Fingerprint of Vīkmāṃ Bhoṭe]  
[Fingerprint of Kālu Āle Magara]  
[Fingerprint of Haṃpu Āle Magara]  
[Signature of Jīvarāja Pādhyā]

- 1 साछी
- 2 रानाथोक् वरुया कालु आले मगर ---१
- 3 ऐं ---वरुया हंपु आले मगर ---१
- 4 लेषक साछी नेपाल वानेश्वर वरुया जीवराज
- 5 पाध्या ---१
- 1 लीषीतम् धनीक नाम सागाचोक् मध्ये छोटे डाडा वरुया पी-
- 2 र महंत कुल्मान् गीरी धन वेहोरीनीक नाम सागाचोक् मध्ये
- 3 पाल्सा डहुवा डाडा छापटार वरुया वीकमां भोटे गतलीह-
- 4 ल् चादीका मोरूपैजा ३७॥ अक्षरेपि साढे सैतीस् क-
- 5 र्जा लीजा । वापत् घरषर्च गनकि कर्जा लीयाको हुं । य-
- 6 स रूपैजामा मेरा कांछी स्वाश्रीपट्टीको जेठो छोरो
- 7 कमाने भोटे भोग वाधा लेषीदिजा । माथी लेषीयाको
- 8 सावा मोहरू ३७॥ चुक्ती नहुंज्याल् साहुले नीज छोरो
- 9 कमाने भोटेलाई घरमा राषी भोगचलन् गर्नु । मै-
- 10 ले नीज छोरोको नीमेक् नषोजनु । साहुवाट रूपै-
- 11 जाको व्याज नषोजनु । नीज कमाने भागी नसी सा-
- 12 हुको काम हर्जा गरायो वा अरू कौनै वेहोराले साहुको भो[ग]

- 13 हुन पायेन भने हर्जा भयाका दीनको ऐन वमोजीम्  
14 नीमेकस्मेत् वुझाई नीजका वदला मेरै ज्यू भोग वाधा  
15 भै वसुला वेउजुर भनी मेरा मनोमान् षुसीराजीसग  
16 कीनाराका साङ्गी सदर गरी भोग वाधाको कागज ले-  
17 षी नीज साहुलाई दीजा । इती संवत् १९५६ साल मिति  
18 फागुन सुदी ६ रोज ५ । शुभम् । ---

Translation:

Śrī

1

44

[Fingerprint of Vīkmām Bhoṭe]

[Fingerprint of Kālu Āle Magara]

[Fingerprint of Haṃpu Āle Magara]

[Signature of Jīvarāja Pādhyā]

Witnesses:

Kālu Āle Magara, resident of Rānāthok – 1

Haṃpu Āle Magara, resident of the same – 1

Scriber [and] witness Jīvarāja Pādhyā, resident of Bāneśvara, Nepāla  
(i.e., Kathmandu) – 1

*Likhitam*<sup>77</sup>: [I], the debtor (*dhana behorinika*) named Vīkmām Bhoṭe, a resident of Khālsā, Ḍaḍhuvā Ḍāḍā, Chāpaṭāra within [the confines of] Sāgācoka, have taken a loan of 37 *mohararupaiyās* 2 *sukās* of current legal currency (*gatalīhal*) [from] the creditor (*dhanika*) named Pīra Mahanta Kulmān Giri, a resident of Choṭe Ḍāḍā within [the confines of] Sāgācoka. I have taken this loan in order to cover household expenses. For this money, I have handed over Kamāne Bhoṭe, the eldest son of my youngest wife, as an usufructuary bondservant (*bhoga bādḥā*). The creditor should make use (*bhogacalana*) of [my] son Kamāne Bhoṭe, keeping him at his house until the aforementioned principal of 37 *mohararupaiyās* 2 *sukās* has been paid in full. I will not ask back the value of [Kamāne Bhoṭe's] daily work (*nimeka*). The creditor shall not

77 *Likhitam*: a written document (as evidence).

ask for interest on the [principal] sum. If the aforementioned Kamāne causes loss to the work of the creditor by running away, or if for any reason the creditor becomes unable to enjoy [Kamāne's labour], I will pay the *nimeka* for the days that have been lost (*harjā*), in accordance with the law (*ain*), and I myself will remain as bondservant in place of the aforementioned [Kamāne]. I will not file any complaint. I have willingly written this deed of usufructuary debt bondage (*bhoga bādhāko kāgaja*), declaring the witnesses [mentioned] in the margin as valid, and handed it over to the aforementioned creditor.

Thursday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Phālguna in the [Vikrama] era year 1956 (1900 CE). Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document, written in 1900, is a classic example of debt bondage. What makes this document more interesting is the follow-up document to it, K\_0348\_0039. This latter document, written six years later, mentions that the bondservant, Kamāne Bhoṭe, was recaptured after he ran away for two and a half years. He is obliged to enter into renewed bondage, with a fine added to the principal. Kamāne is mentioned in K\_0348\_0039 as being 18 years old. Therefore, he must have been of 12 years of age when the current document was written.

Sāgācoka, the place of residence of the issuer of this document is a village in Cautārā Sāgācokagaḍhī Municipality of Sindhupalchok District, east of the Kathmandu Valley.

### 3.5 A bond entered into by Kamāne Bhoṭe with Kulamāna Girī to pay compensation for a period of unauthorized absence (K\_0348\_0039)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1963 (1906 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 8, Bā. Da. Po. no. 12 Pan. no. 2; microfilmed as NGMPP K 348/39; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.44599>.

## Edition:

[1r-part1]

1 श्री \

1 श्री मैन्द्र दल

2 १

1 ४५

1 लीषीतम् सागाचोक मध्ये षाल्सा डहुवा डाडा छापटार वरुया  
 2 वर्ष १८ को कमाने भोटे । आगे मेरा वावु विक्रमान् सिं भोटेले  
 3 पीर महंत कुल्मान् गीरीसग सावा मोहरू ३७।५० कर्जा पाई मेरो  
 4 भोग वाधा लेषीदीया वमोजीम् मेरा पुसिराजीसग [...]  
 5 साल फागुन मैनादेशी नीज साहुका घर्मा भोग वाधा भै का[म]-  
 6 काज गरी वसेकामा मेरा सौतीन्ना दाज्यू बुधिमान् भोटे-  
 7 ले मलाई फकाई ६० साल कात्तीक् मैनादेशी साहुका घर-  
 8 वाट भगाई काठे सिंवु डेरा गरी वरुया -१-पल्टन् १० पट्टी  
 9 सुवेदारा रामनाथ भाट रानाका घर्मा दर्माहदार गराई  
 10 राषेमा म स्मेत्ले सो कुरो दवाई साहुको काम् हानी [...]  
 11 र आजका मीतीमा पक्राउ भै आयाको हुनाले साहु-  
 12 को काम् हर्जा भयाको वर्ष २।५ को ऐन वमोजीम् दीन  
 13 १ को पै रू १४ का हीसावले मोरू ३४।८० र सावास्मेतमा  
 14 सिकीस्त गर्दा मेरो चीत्त बुझ्यो । सो रूपैजा हाल तीर्नाको सा-  
 15 वगास् छैन । नीमेक् मोरू ३४।८० मध्ये नीज दाज्यू बुधि[मान्]  
 16 भोटेवाट भर्ना आयाको नगत मोरू ५ र साहुलाई तमसु-  
 17 क लेषीदीयाको मोरू ७ स्मेत् जमा मोरू १२ कट्टा गरी वाकी  
 18 मोरू २२।८० र सावा मोरू ३७।५० जमा मोहरू ६०।३० साठी  
 19 रूपैजा तीस् पैसामा सावीक् वमोजीम् मेरा ज्यू साहुका  
 20 घर भोग वाधा भै वरुयामा राजी भजा । अव उप्रान्त [आ]-  
 21 ठै प्रहर साहुका घर वसी काम्काज गरूला । सो वमो[जीम्]  
 22 नगरी भागी नसी काम् हर्जा गराजा भने पक्री ऐन [वमो]-  
 23 जीम् गरी नीमेक्स्मेत् लीनु । माथी लेषीया वमोजीम्  
 24 जमा मोरू ६०।३० तीरेका दीन मलाई छाडीदीनु वेउ-  
 25 जुर भनी मेरा मनोमान पुसीराजीसग कीनाराका सा-  
 26 छी सदर गरी नीज बुधीमानेलाई ज्यू ज्मानि दी आ-  
 27 ज अघी काम् हर्जा गरायाको नीमे[क]स्मेत् थप गरी मं-  
 28 जुरीको कागज लेषी नीज साहुलाई दीजा । इती संव-  
 29 त् १९६३ साल वैसाष ६ गते ४ वार शुभम् । ---



[1r-part2]

1 8

[Unknown fingerprint]

[Fingerprint of Budhīmāna Bhoṭe]

[Signature of Vṛṣa Bāhādura Thāpā]

[Fingerprint of Māna Bahādura]

[Signature of Māhāvīra Khatrī]

[Signature of Jayanārāna Pādhyā Dhumgānā]

[Signature of Jīvarāja Pādhyā]

- 1 साछी
- 2 भोग वाधा मेरो सौतीने भाई कमाने भोटे भागी नसी गयो भने नीजलाई पक्री
- 3 ल्याई ज्यू हाजीर गराउला सो गर्न सकीन भने नीजका वदला मेरो ज्यू भो-
- 4 ग वाधा भै वसुला भनी षुसीराजीसग ज्यू ज्मानी भै सहीछाप गर्ने सोही छा-
- 5 पटार बरुया बुधीमान भोटे ---१
- 6 पु. गो ८ पट्टी क. वृष वाहादुर थापा दोल्पा फेदा---१
- 7 ऐ. ९ पट्टी मी मान वहादुर थापा तील्युं ---१
- 8 [?] महीन्द्रदल् १० पट्टी माहावीर षत्री सीपा वडहरे ---१
- 9 भोटु भंन्या जयनारान पाध्या ढुंगाना छालीं --- १
- 10 लेषक जीवराज पाध्या वानेश्वर ---१

Translation:

[1r-part1]

Śrī

Śrī Mahīndradala<sup>78</sup> – 1

45

Written by Kamāne Bhoṭe, aged 18, a resident of Khālsā, Daḍhuvā Dāḍā, Chāpaṭāra within [the confines of] Sāgācoka.

78 The Mahīndradala company of Nepal Army was established in 1845 January (1<sup>st</sup> of Māgha, VS 1901) during the reign of King Rājendra. During the early Rāñā period, it was given the responsibility of managing ammunitions of the Topakhānā. Before restructuring of Nepalese Military in 1952, it functioned as Mahīndradala Paltana. After 1952, it became Mahīndradala Battalion (Vaidya, Mānandhara and Basnyāta 2009: 293–96).

*Āge*: In accordance with myself (*mero jyū*, lit. “my body”) having been approved as an usufructuary bondservant (*bhoga bādhā*) by my father Vikmān Siṃ Bhoṭe after he took a loan of 37 *mohararupaiyās* 50 *paisās* as the principal (*sāvā*) from Pīra Mahanta Kulmān Giri, I willingly lived and worked in the house of the aforementioned creditor (*sāhu*) as a bondservant from the month of Phāguna of the year [...] <sup>79</sup>. [While I was doing so], my elder half-brother, Budhimān Bhoṭe, beguiled me into running away in the month of Kārtika of the year [VS 19]60, and had me made a salaried employee (*darmāhadāra*) at the house of Rāmanātha Bhāṭa Rānā—the *subedāra* of the 10<sup>th</sup> Squad (*paṭṭī*) of –1– (i.e., Mahīndradala) *palṭana*—residing temporarily at Kāṭhe Siṃbu <sup>80</sup>. Since I kept this matter a secret and caused harm to the creditor’s work, and now that I have been caught, I agree that [an amount of] 34 *mohararupaiyās* and 80 *paisās* should be added to the principal, as calculated according to the law (*Ain*), at the rate of 4 *paisās* per day as compensation for loss caused to the creditor’s work for [a period of] 2 years and 5 months. Currently, I have no prospect [of being able] to pay this sum. Of the amount 34 *mohararupaiyās* and 80 *paisās* for the value of the daily work (*nimeka*), after subtracting a total of 12 *mohararupaiyās* compensated by my elder brother—5 *mohararupaiyās* in cash and 7 *mohararupaiyās* as written in a written agreement (*tamasuka*) handed over to the creditor—there remains 22 *mohararupaiyās* 80 *paisās* along with the principal 37 *mohararupaiyās* 50 *paisās*, amounting to a total of 60 *mohararupaiyās* 30 *paisās*, [in words,] sixty *rupaiyās* thirty *paisās*. [For this money,] I have agreed to remain, according to the rule (*sāvikbamojima*), a bondservant in the house of the creditor. From now on I will remain throughout [all] eight *praharas* (i.e., around the clock) in the house of the creditor and work [for him]. In case I fail to do so, or cause loss to the [creditor’s] work by running away, catch me and take the daily fine according to the law. Set me free on the day I pay off the aforementioned amount of 60 *mohararupaiyās* 30 *paisās*. I will not file any [future] complaint. I have willingly written this deed—[wherein I] declare the witnesses [mentioned] in the margin as valid, assign the aforementioned Budhimān as bondsman (*jiu jamānī*), and [accept] the addition of the daily [amount] for the loss in work I caused earlier—and have handed it over to the creditor.

79 The year is unreadable in the available facsimile. However, it can be confirmed as VS 1956 from the Document 3.4 (K\_0348\_0040) which is the original bond deed where Kamāne was approved as a bondservant.

80 Kāṭhe Siṃbu is the locality around the Śāntighata Caitya at Naghal Ṭola in central Kathmandu.

Wednesday, the 6<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Vaisākha in the [Vikrama] era year 1963 (1906 CE).

[*Ir-part2*]

[Unknown fingerprint]

[Fingerprint of Budhimān Bhoṭe]

[Signature of Vṛṣa Bāhādura Thāpā]

[Fingerprint of Māna Bahādura]

[Signature of Māhāvīra Khatrī]

[Signature of Jayanārāna Pādhyā Ḍhumgānā]

[Signature of Jīvarāja Pādhyā]

Witnesses:

Budhimān Bhoṭe, resident of the same Chāpaṭāra, I who willingly stand as bondsman and have signed, stating: “If my half-brother Kamāne Bhoṭe, the usufructuary bondservant, runs away, I will capture him and present him back to you. If I fail to do so, I will stay as bondservant in his place.” – 1

Pu. Go Squad 8 Ka. Vṛṣa Bāhādura Thāpā [of] Dolkhā, Phedā5 – 1

Ditto Squad 9 Mī. Māna Bahādura Thāpā [of] Tīlpuṃ – 1

Mahīndradala, Squad 10 Māhāvīra Khatrī [of] Sīpā Baḍahare – 1

Jayanārāna Pādhyā Ḍhumgānā aka Bhoṭu [of] Chālīm – 1

Scriber Jīvarāja Pādhyā [of] Bāneśvara – 1

Commentary:

Kamāne Bhoṭe was assigned as a bondservant by his father, Vikmān Siṃ Bhoṭe, in VS 1956 (see Document K\_0348\_0040 for the original bond). However, the original debtor Vikmān Siṃ is not mentioned in this document and one can assume that he must have passed away during the gap of six years the two documents were written. If it is the case, this may also be considered as a case of debt inheritance.

The document stipulates that the bondservant Kamāne Bhoṭe is to pay a fine of four *paisās* per day for the period during which he had run away. This amount is in accordance with the *Ain* of 1854 (*Ain*-54 § 80.9) which states that daily *nimeka* of a bondservant is one *ānā* (= 4 *paisās*) as long as the accumulated total of *nimeka* is less than the original amount of money (*thaili*), in the case when a runaway bondservant is captured.

### 3.6 A loan agreement involving a slave put up as collateral (K\_0281\_0045)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1976 (1919 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, 6, Bā. Da. Po. no. 3 and 4; micro-filmed as NGMPP K 281/45; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36997>.

#### Edition:

1 श्रीः\

1 १५७ नं

1 स्ही लाल्वा-

2 हादुर षत्री

3 छेत्री

1 साछी

1 स्ही: दांन् वाहादुर ष-

2 त्री छेत्री ---१

1 स्ही हीरा सीं थापा छेत्री ---१

1 [Fingerprint] वीर षत्री छेत्री ---१

1 अभय सीं षत्री छेत्री ---१

1 स्ही: लेषत्को म असा-

2 मी लाल् वाहादुर षत्री

3 छेत्री सदर छु ---

1 स्वस्ति श्री सम्बत् १९७६ साल् मीती पौष ८ गते वार ३ मा सु-

2 व दीने धनीका नाम वीर्ता रस्पुरगाऊ वश्रे वीर वाहादुर ष-

3 त्री छेत्री धन वेहोरीनीका णम<sup>81</sup> ऐं गाऊ वश्रे लाल्

4 वाहादुर षत्री छेत्री गत ली चादीका चलं [अनु]सारका

5 मो रू १४२ अक्षरूपी येक सये वयालीस् रुपैजा

6 लीयाको ठीक् साचो हो । वाफत् दंन्ड<sup>82</sup> वीसयेमा हीरा  
 7 सीं थापाले तीरीदीयाको हुनाले नीज हीरा सीं थापाला-  
 8 ई तीर्न लीयाको हस्वा<sup>83</sup> रुपैजाको भाका करवर येही  
 9 आउन्या ७७ साल्का जेसूठ मैनाका दीण १२ जाहा  
 10 लेषीयाका रुपैजा सापटको सापट बुझाउला । स्वा<sup>84</sup>  
 11 भाका नाध्ये भने येसै मीतीमा धीतो रहेको रवे कमारो  
 12 चार रत्नको चोखो भयाको कमारो आर्को परम्-  
 13 भट्टा नलेषी येसै कागजको सदर गरी लीनु । पछी म-  
 14 रे भाग्ये मीती वार मोरे भाग्ये नीमेक् कमारो लेउ भनी  
 15 म आसामीले नभंनु । मीती पार मोरे भाग्ये मेरो कमारो  
 16 लेउ रूपैजा बुझाउ भनी नभंनु । मेरा मंमा षुसी रा-  
 17 जीले दाम् दोहोरी बुझीलीजा । यो तमसुक लेषीदी-  
 18 याको साउका पुर्वतर्फको दलानमा लेषीदीयाको  
 19 हो । येस वेहोराका साछी फट्केपट्टी लेषीदीयाको  
 20 छु । मीती सदर । शु । ---

Translation:

Śrī

Number 157

[Signature]: Lāl Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī

Witnesses:

[Signature]: Dān Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī

[Signature]: Hīrā Siṃ Thāpā Chetrī

[Fingerprint]: Vīra Khatrī Chetrī

Abhaya Siṃ Khatrī Chetrī

[Signature]: I, Lāl Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī, the debtor of [this] deed,  
 have been approved [as such].

82 Read: *danḍa*.

83 Read: *so*.

84 Read: *so*.

Hail! On the auspicious Monday of the 8<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Pauṣa in the [Vikrama] era year 1976 (1919 CE), [I,] the debtor (*dhana behorīnī*), Lāl Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī by name, resident of Raspura Village, have truly received 142 current silver *mohararupaīyās* from the creditor (*dhanī*), Vīra Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī by name, resident of the same village. I have borrowed this money to repay Hirā Siṃ Thāpā, inasmuch as the latter paid [a similar amount earlier as] the fine for an offence (*bāpḥat*) [of mine]. I solemnly promise to return the same amount [of money] as borrowed<sup>85</sup> on the 12<sup>th</sup> of the month of Jyeṣṭha in the coming year [VS 19]77. If this promise is broken, [Vīra Bāhādura] shall take in his ownership, on that same date, the pledged male slave Rave, who possesses the four gems<sup>86</sup>, considering this deed as valid [in] itself, without [any need] for a separate *paramabhāṭṭā* to be written. If [the slave] dies or escapes—[that is,] if he dies or escapes before the [fixed] date—I, the debtor, shall not say: “Give me the value of the labour (*nimek*) [of the slave] or [the price of] the slave.” If he dies or escapes beyond the [promised] date, [the creditor] shall not tell: “Give me my slave [or] pay me the [debt] money.” I have gladly and of my own free will received this money. This agreement (*tamasuka*) was written on the creditor’s eastern veranda. I have written down the witnesses to this document in the margin (*phaṭke*). The [aforementioned] date is valid. Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document records a loan of money taken out by Lāl Bāhādura from Vīra Bāhādura in a village called Raspura. The identity of this village is unknown. However, since this document was among a bundle of documents from Pyuthana, Raspura is presumably a village in the same general area. The document mentions that the debtor took the loan in order to repay an earlier loan from Hirā Siṃ Thāpā, who had paid at fine on his behalf for an offence committed earlier.

The document mentions that the debtor has put up his slave Rave as collateral for the loan. The slave would automatically pass to the creditor if the loan was defaulted.

85 The formulation used *sāpaṭako sāpaṭa* refers that the amount to be returned would be the same as the borrowed amount, without applying any interest. This leads us to the understanding that the slave was a usufructuary pledge, and that his service to the creditor compensated the interest.

86 The four standard qualities of a trusted slave, probably being free of certain disease or sins.

#### 4. Documents on Emancipation of Slaves before 1924

##### 4.1 A lālamohara of King Girvāṇayuddha emancipating a family of Patan from slavery (DNA\_0012\_0065)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1858 (1802 CE); National Archives Nepal, Ms no. 297; microfilmed as NGMPP DNA 12/65; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.32500>.

Edition:

[/r]

1 [श्रीदुर्गास]हाये \

[Royal seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्रीगिरिराजचक्रचूडामणिनरनारायेणेत्यादिविविधविरूदावलि-
- 2 विराजमानमानोन्नत्श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजश्रीश्रीश्रीमहाराजेगिर्वा-
- 3 णजुद्धविक्रमसाहवहादुरसमसेरजंङ्देवानाम् सदा समरविज-
- 4 यिनाम् । ---
- 5 आगे सहर पाटन धलाछे टोलका मछिन्द्रके । अघि नेपाल मादा
- 6 तिभिहरूलाई ह्यासि गुलामी तुल्यायाको हो । आज हामीले तला-
- 7 ई र तेरा छोराछोरीसमेतकन गुलामीका पदवीको नाउ छोडाई पा-
- 8 र गरिवक्यौ । आफ्ना खातिरजामासँग कुलाचारदेखी भैआया-
- 9 को धर्मकर्म जातभाईसित मिलीजुलि छोराछोरीको विवाहवरी
- 10 गर । ईति सम्वत १८५८ साल मिति चैत्र सुदि १२ रोज ४ शुभम् ।

[/v]

1 २९७

1 रूजु वम्साह

1 मार्फत्त वखंतवारसिंह

1 रूजु सेरवहादुर]

1 रूजु नरसिंह

Translation:

[I r]

May the glorious Durgā succour [us]!

[Royal seal]

Hail! [A decree] of him who is shining with manifold rows of eulogy [such as] “The venerable crest-jewel of the multitude of mountain kings” and Nāranārāyaṇa<sup>87</sup> etc., high in honour, the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Girvāṇayuddha Vikrama Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king always triumphant in war.

To Machindra of Dhalāche Ṭola in the city of Patan.

Earlier, when Nepāla (i.e., the Kathmandu Valley) was conquered<sup>88</sup>, your family was degraded in cast and made slaves. Today, I have freed you and your sons and daughters by removing the title of your status as slaves. Mindful of proper conduct (*khātirajāmā*), perform together with your fellow caste brothers the acts of *dharma* that have been passed down within the tradition of your clan and arrange marriages for your sons and daughters.

Wednesday, the 12<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Caitra in the [Vikrama] era year 1858 (1802 CE). [May there be] auspiciousness.

[I v]

297

Attested by Bam Sāha.

Through [the hands of] Bakhatavāra Siṃha.

Attested by Sera Bahādura.

Attested by Narasiṃha.

87 An epithet of Kṛṣṇa.

88 *mārdā*, lit. “when (it) was killed”.



### Commentary:

This document was issued in the year 1802 by King Girvāṇayuddha Vikrama Sāha (r. 1799–1816). The king was only five years old at the time, and was ruling under the regency of Queen Suvarṇaprabhā. The document states that (the ancestors of) Machindra of Dhalāche<sup>89</sup> were enslaved (probably by Prthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha) during the conquest of the Valley, and that he, together with his offspring, were now being freed. It further states that the subject should, with all good intent, follow the traditions of his clan, establish good relations with his fellow clan members, and arrange marriages for his offspring. The document was attested by Bam Sāha<sup>90</sup>, Sera Bahādura<sup>91</sup> and Narasiṃha. The document is also signed by Bakhaṃtavāra Siṃha<sup>92</sup> as a witness.

The subject in the current document, Machindra, was presumably a Newar of Patan. It is not clear from the document which caste of Newars this Machindra belonged to, or whether he or his ancestors belonged to an Enslavable caste.

### 4.2 A copperplate inscription by Buddhirekhā Godārni recording the emancipation of a slave and a variety of implements offered to Paśupati (PN\_0002\_0030)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1863 (1806 CE); Paśupati Gośvārā; microfilmed as NGMPP PN 2/30; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36939>.

### Edition:

1 श्री दुर्गाज्यु \

89 The locality of Dhalāche lies in the eastern quarter of the city of Patan, near Sundhārā.

90 Bam Sāha was the *cautarīyā* of Kumaun during the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814–16, and witnessed the defeat of Almora in April 1815. For a report sent by him from the battleground of Nālāpānī, see DNA\_0002\_0019.

91 Probably this is the same Sera Bahādura who was a son of King Siṃhapratāpa and a step-brother of Raṇabahādura. He is thought of having killed Raṇabahādura in 1806 and was himself immediately killed.

92 Probably Kājī Bakhatavāra Siṃha Basnyāta who was a *kājī* during the rule of Mukhtiyāra Dāmodara Pāḍe (cf. M.R. Panta VS 2021: 68–73).

1 श्री पशुपति ५

- 1 स्वस्ति श्री शाके १७२८ श्री सम्वत १८६३ साल मिति आश्विन सुक्ल पंचमी ५ गुरुवा-
- 2 सरे तद्दिने लिषित श्री बुद्धिरेषा गोदारनि । आगे मेरा पेवा धनमध्ये मेरा ग-
- 3 लाको विजवन्दसमेत सुनाको विज लोहटा थाल वटुको पनिउ डादु को-
- 4 परा दियो थाक्रो कांग्यो चुल्याँसि स्याँगी गागृ षर्कदो यति वस्तु ---५ ---
- 5 प्रीति गर्यो । धनावति कमारि मेरा पेवा १५ रूपैयाले किन्याकि पार ग-
- 6 रिदिजाँ । एस पत्रका साछि मेरा छोरा राजवल थापा र छोरी ३ बुहारि
- 7 नाति २ समेत उद्योतदेवनारायण पाध्या हुंगाना कविराज भडारि ।
- 8 एति धनमा लोभानि पापानि जो गर्ला ---५ ---कुद्रिष्टि पंचमा-
- 9 हापातक लागला । पत्र लेषक साछि शक्तिवल्लव देवकोटा ईति शु-
- 10 भमस्तु ।

Translation:

Glorious Durgā

Glorious Paśupati – 5

Hail! Written by Buddhirekhā Godārni on Thursday, the 5<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the Śaka year 1728, [Vikrama] era year 1863 (1806 CE).

*Āge*: of my *pevā* property, I have joyfully offered these things to –5– (i.e. glorious Paśupati): a gold *bīja* (ornament) together with the band (*bījabanda*) [that I had worn] on my neck, a water-pot (*lohoṭā*), a plate (*thāla*), a bowl (*baṭuko*), a flat ladle (*paniu*), a ladle (*ḍāḍu*), a chamber-pot (*koparā*), an oil lamp (*diyo*), a hair-brush (*thākro*), a comb (*kāṃgyo*), a curved kitchen knife (*culyāsi*), a straight kitchen knife (*syāḅgī*), a large water-vessel (*gāgrī*), and a *kharkado*<sup>93</sup> vessel. I have freed the female slave Dhanāvati, a *pevā* property of mine bought for 15 rupees.

The witnesses to this [copper]plate are: my son Rājabala Thāpā, 3 daughters, a daughter-in-law, 2 grandsons, Udyotadevanārāyaṇa Pādhyā Ḍhuṅgānā and Kavirāja Bhaḍārī. Whoever acts out of greed and sin towards this property will be struck by the evil eye of –5– (i.e. glorious Paśupati), and will incur the five great sins (*pañcamahāpātaka*). Śaktiballava Devakoṭā is the writer of and a witness to this [copper]plate. Auspiciousness.

93 Also known as *khadkūlo*, a wide-mouthed vessel generally made of copper and used for cooking.

### Commentary:

This is a copperplate dating to 1806 found at the Paśupati temple. The text on it records the offering by a certain Buddhirekhā Godārni of various kinds of implements and ornament to the temple. The patroness also freed a female slave named Dhanāvati. The witnesses to this document include the patroness's son, daughters, a daughter-in-law, grandsons and three other persons. For another document regarding the freeing of slaves at the Paśupati temple, see Document 4.4 (PN\_0004\_0065). An edition of this document has been published in Śreṣṭha 1974: 104–5.

### 4.3 A copy of an emancipation deed issued to Gajakesara (RRC\_0019\_0444)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1864 (1808 CE); Regmi Research Collection, vol. 19, document no. 444, p. 371; Archived at the Tribhuvan University Library, Kirtipur; microfilmed as NGMPP E 2426/2; for the digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/47508>.

### Edition:

- 1 ५३९ नं
- 1 आगे गज सीं खत्रीको छोरा गजकेसरके ।
- 2 तलाई गुलामी पदवीदेखी पार गरीवक्स्यौ ।
- 3 अवदेखी खतृ भैइस । खातिरज्मासीत जनै हाल ।
- 4 आफ्ना जात संगतमा सामील होउ । इती मीती सदर ।
- 5 चैत्र वदी ३० रोज १ ।

### Translation:

No. 539<sup>94</sup>

To Gajakesara, the son of Gajasiṃ Khatrī. We have freed you from your slave (*gulāmī*) status. You are henceforth a Khatrī. Wear the

94 This probably is the number given in the original register.

sacred thread (*janai*), mindful of proper conduct. Become associated with fellow members of your own caste. The date is valid.

Sunday<sup>95</sup>, the 30<sup>th</sup> [solar day] of the dark fortnight of Caitra [in the year VS 1864 (1808 CE)]<sup>96</sup>.

### Commentary:

This document, found in the Regmī Research Collection, volume 19, p. 371, is a copy of a *lālamohara* issued in 1808. The *praśasti* was left out of the copy, but from the date it is clear that the document was issued by King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha. This royal order emancipates Gajakesara from slavery. It also grants him membership in the Khatrī caste, that of his father Gajasim̐ Khatrī. Etymologically, the caste name Khatrī is derived from Sanskrit *kṣatri/kṣatriya*. Another caste name, Chetrī, derived from the same Sanskrit term, belongs to the group of Sacred Thread-wearers and forms the largest caste group in Nepal. Khatrīs and Chetrīs are similar, but not the same. According to Ain-54 § 23.30, Khatrī is the caste assigned to an abandoned child of unknown caste if kept by a Brahmin. A child born of a slave woman with a Brahmin master also becomes a Khatrī (see TND, s.v. *kamāro*). Similarly, offspring of the union of an Upādhyāya Brahmin male and a Chetrī female or of a Chetrī male and a female of a lower but pure caste becomes a Khatrī (see Höfer 2004: 54–55).

This Gajakesara Khatrī was appointed as a captain with the Candana Nātha Paṭṭana in VS 1889 (RRC 27.160: 165). Gajakesara's father, Gajasim̐ Khatrī, was a *subba-ijārādāra* of Bara, Parsa and Rautahat in 1797 (RRS 19.11–12: 172) of Morang until 1803 (RRS 19.6: 84), and a *sardāra* in 1805 (RRS 19.7–8: 98). An English translation of this document is available in Regmi (1987: 172).

95 Reading of the number 1, denoting Sunday, is unclear in the original.

96 The year can be confidently assigned, given that the document is one of a series of jointly filed documents from the same year.

#### 4.4 A copperplate inscription recording the emancipation of three women from slavery by Sundara Giri and his wife (PN\_0004\_0065)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1869 (1813 CE); Paśupati Gośvārā; microfilmed as NGMPP PN 4/65; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36940>.

Edition:

- 1 श्री \
- 2 श्री पसुपति
- 1 स्वस्ति श्री साके १७३४ संवत् १८६९ साल मिति फागुनमा-
- 2 से दिनगत २६ तदिने सुंदर गिरि र सुन्दर गिरिकि स्वा-
- 3 स्त्रिले लक्ष्मि १ कोइलि १ ज्वाला १ यो तिन जना कमारिला-
- 4 ई ---का दषिन् दर्वाजामा भादा टाम्वाका दि {...}दो-
- 5 को नाम्लो काटि पार गरिदिज्युं । कालकला कसैले झैझग-
- 6 रा गर्या ---को कुट्टुष्टि होला । तेस वाटका साछि वि-
- 7 ष्णु नारान भवानि गिरि रामा पूरि गोसाजि रूप
- 8 नारान गिरि वषतवर गिरि । शुभम् । ---

Translation:

Śrī

Glorious Paśupati

Hail! On the 26<sup>th</sup> solar day of the month of Phālguna in the Śaka year 1734 and the [Vikrama] era year 1869 (1813 CE), we, Sundara Giri and Sundara Giri's wife, have freed these three female slaves—Lakṣmi, Koili and Jvālā—by giving copper utensils at the southern door of --- [i.e., glorious Paśupati],<sup>97</sup> and by cutting off the *ḍoko*

97 The original text has *daṣin darvājāmā bhādā tāmvākā di naḥ*. Here, I have considered the letter *naḥ* as superfluous. Also, it is not clear whether the copper utensils were given to the slaves or to Paśupati. In Document 4.2 (PN\_0002\_0030), household utensils were offered to Paśupati while freeing a female slave. If it is the case, Paśupati would be the recipient, and the offering was made to the outer door of the temple for the slaves would not be allowed inside.

[from] the *nāmlo*.<sup>98</sup> If anyone creates a dispute at a [future] point in time (*kālakalā*),<sup>99</sup> he will be struck with the evil eye of --- [i.e., glorious Paśupati]. The witnesses to this act are: Viṣṇu Nārāna, Bhavāni Giri, Rāmā Purī Gosāñi, Rūpa Nārāna Giri [and] Bakhatavara Giri. Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This is a copperplate dating to 1813 found at the Paśupati temple. The text on it records formal measures a certain Sundara Giri took to free three female slaves. Interestingly, the document mentions that during this ceremonial act, Sundara Giri offered some copper utensils and cut off a carrying strap (*nāmlo*) from its basket (*ḍoko*), perhaps as a symbol of the labourious work the slaves no longer had to carry out. Maskey (1996: 34) mentions of this ceremonial procedure, referring to a document of 1877 from Foreign Political A of the National Archives of India: “The slave takes a Dhoka (*doko*) or basket on his or her back with a goat in it, and the master cuts and (sic!) band by which the Dhoka (*doko*) is held, and which passes round the forehead of the carrier. The slave is then free.”

The document lists five persons as witnesses to the act. The donors and the witnesses mentioned in the document belong to the *daśanāmī* order.

For another document regarding the freeing of slaves at the Paśupati temple, see Document 4.2 (PN\_0002\_0030).

98 A *ḍoko* is a basket, commonly made of woven bamboo, carried on the back. A *nāmlo* is a strap to secure the *ḍoko* round the forehead or neck.

99 N. Panta et al. (VS 2025: 1039 n.) state that *kālakalā* is equivalent to *kālakālāntaramā*.

4.5 A copy of a deed of emancipation written by Rājakumārī Pāḍenī for her slaves Indravadan and Ujīra Khavāsa (K\_0118\_0032)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1943 (1887 CE); Guthī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Garuḍanārāyaṇa Guthi, Po. no. 49, Ms. no. 11; microfilmed as NGMPP K 118/32; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.37017>.

Edition:

[1r-part1]

1 श्री \

1 श्री गुजेकाली

2 १

1 श्री पसुपतीनाथ

2 २

1 रूजु सहि Shamir Shumshere

1 १८०

1 ११ नं.

1 सकल वमोजीं नकल दुरुस्त भनी सही छाप गर्ने उजीरे घर्ती ---

1 श्रीकृष्ण चरण राजकुमारी सरण भन्थे छाप तेस्का तल लापच्ये सही मसी नमीलेको सही छाप रूजु नहुदा प्रेम वाहादुर भन्थे लेपेको

1 लिपितं नरदेवी टोल वरूया कजेनी राजकुमारी पडेनि छेत्र्यानीकस्ये दाइजो केटी इन्द्रवंदन् निजको छो-

2 रो उजीरे केटोहरूस्मेत्के । हजुरको हामीहरूले अघीदेषी आजस्म रूजु रही चाकरी गरीआयाका

3 छौ । अव हामीहरूलाई पारपत्र गरिवक्स्या हजुरको सरिर् षडा छन्ज्यालस्म आठौ प्रहर रूजु रही

4 टहल चाकरी गरि हजुरके सोझो चिताई हजुरका टहल चाकरी गरौला । टहल चाकरी गर्दा

- 5 साहेवको सरिको सरदा भक्ती धर्म थामी टहल गरौला । रूपैया पैसा नगद जीन्सी कौनैको
- 6 कुरामा हामीहरूले साहेवमाथी कुभलो चीताजौ भने हाम्रो कैले भलो नहवस् ।  
लोभानी पापा-
- 7 नी गरि हजुरमाथी कुभलो ची[ताई] अपराध गरेउ र हजुको अधर्म चीताई अनेत्र छाडी जाने
- 8 छैनौ । हजुरका सेषपछी हामीलाई हजुरवाट गरीवकस्याका पारपत्र वमोजीं आफ्नु आफ्नु
- 9 पुस गरौला । यो पत्रमा लेषीयाका वेहोराका बंदेजमा नरही हजुरका सरीर् षडा छदै अने-
- 10 त्र गञ्यू भने र पाप नास गै लोग्न्या अरू कसैका कुरा सुनि लेषीयाका बन्देजमा नरही अने-
- 11 त्र गञ्यू भने -१- र -२- देवता र पंच भलाआद्धी साछी राषी रीत पुर्याइ अंलेष गराई हामी-
- 12 लाई पारपत्र गरीवकस्याको छ तापनि हामीलाई चाकर तुल्याई हजुरको पुस गर्नु ।  
पारपत्र ग-
- 13 रीदीयाकोमा हाम्रो उजुर लाग्ने हो तापनी हाम्रो वेउजुर । उजुर गर्ने छैनौ । उजुर नास्ती । उजुर ग-
- 14 यीं भने सो लीषत् झुट्टा गरीदीनु । हजुरका सेषपछी मात्र सो कवुलपत्र छ । तापनी हजुरका दर
- 15 संतान हकवाला दैयादार अरू कसैको टहल चाकरी गर्ने छैनौ । यही पत्र वमोजीं आफ्नु आफ्-
- 16 नु पुस गरी {...}वसौला । यस पत्रमा लेषीया वमोजीं गर्नु भनी मेरा मनोमान पुसी राजीसंग पार-
- 17 पत्रको नामापत्र लेषी नीजहरू दाइजो इन्द्रवदं नीजको छोरो उजीर षवासलाई दीञ्यू । साछी छो-
- 18 डोल वरूया लेफुटे भिम्बल कवर १ असन् वरूया हर्षनन्द गुभाजु १ नैकंतला वरूया कप्तान् इन्द्रधोज

[1r-part2]

- 19 पाडे कप्तान् विश्वकुमार पाडे मेजर अजिटन् टेक वाहादुर पाडे ठमेल वस्ने सुवेदार वलध्वज{...}
- 20 भडारी छेतृ लेषक साछी प्रयागदत्त पाध्या । इति सम्बत १९४३ साल मीती फाल्गुण वदी
- 21 ७/२ । शुभम् । ---



Translation:

[*1r-part1*]

Śrī

Glorious Guhyakālī – 1

Glorious Paśupati-nātha – 2

Attested, signature; Shamir Shumshere

180

No. 11

Signed by Ujīre Ghartī in attestation that the copy is identical with the original

A fingerprint signature under a seal reading “The feet of glorious Kṛṣṇa [are] the refuge [of] Rājakumārī”; [and] since the (foregoing) signature, in a different ink (from the rest of the document), is unattested, [the name] Prema Bāhādura has been written.<sup>100</sup>

Written by Kajenī<sup>101</sup> Rājakumārī Pādenī Chetryānī, resident of Naradevī Ṭola, to the female slave (*keṭī*) Indravadan and her son, the slave-boy (*keṭo*) Ujīre, [both acquired as] dowry.

“We have been attending and serving you from the past up until today. If now you provide us with a deed of emancipation (*pārapatra*), we will attend you throughout [all] eight *praharas* (i.e., around the clock) to take care of you with honest intent for the remainder of your life. While serving you, [our] mistress (*sāhebako sarir*, lit. mistress’s body), we will do so by keeping alive [our] faithfulness, devotion and duty [to you]. Regarding money, valuables and property, if ever we intend you [our] mistress ill, may it never go well with us. We will not leave you

100 Written in the left margin. The fingerprint in the original must have been that of Rājakumārī. She would have had to sign the document in addition to her seal to make it official. Prema Bāhādura probably was an authority who was called upon to confirm the validity of the signature.

101 *Kajenī* refers to the wife of a *kājī*.

and go elsewhere out of greed and sinfulness, having intended you ill, committed a crime, or intended something unlawful towards you. In accordance with the deed of emancipation granted by you, we will each act according to our wishes after your death. If, instead of remaining within [the terms of] agreement written in this deed, we go elsewhere while you are still alive, or if we, going [down] to sin and destruction from listening to [my] husband or anybody else, fail to remain within [the terms of] the agreement and go elsewhere, then—even if you have granted us the deed of emancipation, with the deities –1– (i.e., glorious Guhyakālī) and –2– (i.e., glorious Paśupati-nātha) and five notables as witnesses—make us [your] slaves [again] and do [with us] as you wish. Since you have provided us with a deed of emancipation, we might mount a legal appeal (against re-enslavement). However, our [case] would admit of no appeal. We would not appeal; there is no appeal (we could mount). If we did file an appeal, please declare such a document as invalid. The agreement (*kabulapatra*) is [valid] only after your death. Nevertheless, we will not [afterwards] serve your descendants, rightful inheritors or anybody else. In accordance with this document, we will each live as we please.”

I have written [this] deed of emancipation (*pārapatrako nāmāpatra*) willingly, having given instructions to act according to what is written in this document, and have handed it over to the aforementioned [persons acquired as] dowry, Indravadan and her son Ujīra Khavāsa.

Witnesses: Leutenant Bhīm-bala Kavara, resident of Choḍola – 1, Harṣananda Gubhāju, resident of Asan – 1, Captain Indradhvaja Pāḍe, resident of Naikamtālā,

[1r-part2]

Captain Viṣṇukumāra Pāḍe, Major Adjutant Ṭeka Bāhādura Pāḍe, Sub-edāraBaladhvaja Bhaḍārī Chetṛī, resident of Ṭhame-la [and] the scribe [and] witness Prayāgadatta Pādhyā.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> (i.e., Monday?) of the 7<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Phālguna in the [Vikrama] era year 1943 (1887 CE).

Commentary:

This is one of two documents copied together in a collection belonging to the Garuḍanārāyaṇa Guṭhī. Both this and the other document, K\_0118\_0033, officialise the emancipation of slaves Indravadan and

Ujīre by Rājakumārī Pāḍenī. In the left margin of the document, Ujīre Ghartī attests that the copy is identical with the original. It is not clear if this Ujīre Ghartī is the same Ujīre slave mentioned in the document. Both the documents, K\_0118\_0032 and K\_0118\_0033, are good examples of how the slaves were made to work for their masters even after their emancipation.

For documents regarding a legal case involving Rājakumārī Pāḍenī, see K\_0175\_0018, K\_0118\_0039 etc., K\_0175\_0032 and K\_0175\_0033, which are the receipts of an expiation fee paid by her, and K\_0175\_0034, which is a *patiyā-pūrjī* issued to her.

#### 4.6 A copy of a deed of emancipation written by Rājakumārī Pāḍenī for her slave Gopāle (K\_0118\_0033)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1943 (1887 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Garuḍanārāyaṇa Guṭhī, Po. no. 49, Ms. no. 12; microfilmed as NGMPP K 118/33; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36996>.

Edition:

1 श्री

1 श्री पसुपती गुजेस्वरी

1 १२ नं.

1 स्त्री गोपाल

1 सकल वमोजि नकल दुरूस्त भनि स-

2 ही छापू गर्ने गोपाले घर्ति ---

1 स्वस्ति श्री नरदेवी टोल वरुया कजेनी राजकुमारि पडेनि छेत्र्यानीकस्यै हरिवदंनको छोरो गोपाले केटाके । तेरी आमाले मेरो स्यहार संभार गरि-

2 आयाको हुनाले १९४३ सालका माघ मैन्हामा तेरि आमा वेरामि भै रूदा र असाध्ये हुदा माधि पुर्ने वाका चत्तुरदसिका दीन् घाट् ऊठाउ[ने]

3 वेलामा मेरा मर्ने वषत् भो मेरो छोरो गोपाले वालष छ हजुर्को मैले सोझो चीताई चाकरि गरेकै हुं हामी आमा छोरालाई [का]-

- 4 म्करवाट फुर्सत गरीवकस्या हाम्रो पनि परत्र सप्रदो हो हजुरलाई पनि पुन्ये हुदो हो भंदा तेहि वषत्मा तेरी आमालाई काम-
- 5 कर हाड्वाट पार गरी र त बालष हुनाले तलाइस्मेत् हाड्पार गरी दीयाथ्याँ । तेरी आमा मर्दा र त बालष हुनाले मेरा [जि]-
- 6 बताभरलाइ तेरो जिय हाड्पार गरीदीयाँ । मेरो स्याहार संभार गर्नु । मेरो सेषपछी तेरो जिये हाड् काम्करवाट [पार]
- 7 गरीदीजा । आफु पुसी भै वस्तु । मेरा सेषपछी तलाइ मेरा दैयादार हकवालास्मेत् अरू गैर्हले लोभानी पापानि गरी [क]-
- 8 [री]या हो भनि जस्ले पक्राऊ गर्ला भन्ला तस्लाइ माहापंचपातक् लागि ---को कुदृष्टी भै नरक्को भोग गर्नु-
- 9 परोस भनि मेरा मनोमान पुसि राजिसंग पारपत्र लेषि निज त गोपालेलाइ दियौं । येस् पत्रका साछी छौडोल वर्या
- 10 लेफटेँ भिम्बल कुवर १ रुपिं वर्या देवनीधी पाध्या १ वैद १ ठमेल वस्त्रे षड्गधोज भडारी छेत्री १ लेषकका सा-
- 11 छी प्रयागदत्त पाध्या । इति सम्बत् १९४३ साल मिति माघ सुदी १४ रोज १ सुभम् ।
- 12 श्रीकृष्ण चरण राजकुमारी सरण भन्त्ये द्याप लापच्ये सही मसी नमीलेको सही प्रेम वाहादुर भन्त्ये लेषेको

Translation:

Śrī

Glorious Paśupati [and] Guhyeśvarī

No. 12

Signed [by] Gopāla

Signed by Gopāle Gharṭī in attestation that the copy is identical to the original

Hail! From Śrī Kajenī Rājakumārī Pādenī Chetryānī, resident of Naradevī Ṭola, to the slave-boy Gopāle, the son of Harivadamaṇa.

Your mother was [for a long time] taking care of me. In the month of Māgha in the year [VS] 1943, your mother became sick, kept crying out and could not be cured, and on the full moon day of Māgha, on *vākā*<sup>102</sup> *caturdaśī*, as she was being brought to the burning *ghats*, she said: “The time of my death has come. My son, Gopāle, is still

102 Meaning unclear.

a child. I have served you with loyalty. If you could spare us, mother and son, from the subjection of [slave] labour (*kāmakara*), our future would flourish, and it would also be meritorious for you.” I therefore freed your mother from the bondage of labour then and there and since you were a child, I had freed you as well. Since your mother has died, and since you are still a child, I have freed you from bondage [on condition] that you [serve me] for the remainder of my life. Serve me. I free you from the bondage of labour, to take effect after my death. Live according to your wish [from that time on]. After my death, may whoever among the rightful claimants of my inheritance, out of greed or evil intention, holds you [back], considering you as a household slave (*kariyā*), incur the five great sins, be struck by the evil eyes of [glorious Paśupati and Guhyeśvarī]<sup>103</sup>, and endure hell. Having written [this] deed of emancipation willingly, I handed it over to you, Gopāle. The witnesses to this letter are: Lieutenant Bhimbala Kūvara of Chauḍola – 1, Devanīdhī Pādhyā of Rupim – 1, Vaida – 1, Khaṅgadhvoja Bha[ṅ]ḍārī Chetrī of Ṭhamela – 1, [and] the witness of the writer Prayāgadatta Pādhyā.

Sunday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the [Vikrama] era year 1943 (1887 CE). Auspiciousness.

A fingerprint signature under a seal reading “The feet of glorious Kṛṣṇa [are] the refuge [of] Rājakumārī”; [and] since the (foregoing) signature, in a different ink (from the rest of the document), is unattested, [the name] Prema Bāhādura has been written.

### Commentary:

This is one of two documents copied together in a collection belonging to the Garuḍanārāyaṇa Guṭhī. Both this and the other document, K\_0118\_0032, officialise the emancipation of slaves by Rājakumārī Pāḍenī. In this document, Harivadaṃṇa and Gopāle, mother and son, are emancipated on the former’s deathbed. The son, Gopāle, is freed on condition that he serve Rājakumārī throughout her life. The document explicitly states that the descendants of Rājakumārī shall have no authority over the freed slave Gopāle.

103 Copied from the upper margin.

4.7 A copy of an order emancipating the slaves owned  
by Samara Bahādura Rājabhaṇḍārī (RRC\_0053\_0029)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1943 (1886 CE); Regmi Research Collection, vol. 53, document no. 29, pp. 168-70; Archived at the Tribhuvan University Library, Kirtipur; microfilmed as NGMPP E 2460/2; for the digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/37660>.

Edition:

[168]

1 १२९

- 1 प्रशस्तिसौ । आगे लेफटेन कर्णे-
- 2 ल समर वहादुर राजभंडारीका करीया
- 3 तपसील वमोजिमका कमारा कमारीके ।
- 4 यथोचीत उप्रान्त । लेफटेन कर्णेल सम-
- 5 र वहादुर राजभण्डारीले मोगलानाका
- 6 वागी राणाजीहरूसंग लेषपढी गर्या-
- 7 को जाहीर गर्न्या कमाराका जहानैलाई
- 8 पारपत्रको सनद गरीदीनु भन्या यस
- 9 अडाका हाकीम कारीन्दाका नाउमा ४३
- 10 साल आषाड सुदि १ रोज ३ मा भैआ-

[169]

- 11 याका हुकुम मर्जीका २ छापे पुर्जी मोतावीक
- 12 मोगलानाका वागी राणाजीसंग लेखपढी
- 13 गर्याको इन्हेरूले हाम्रा हजुरमा जाहेर
- 14 गर्याका रीझ वापत नीज कर्णेलको र नी-
- 15 जका संतान दरसंतानको र नीज कर्णेल-
- 16 का हकवाला दाजुभाईको संतान दरसं-
- 17 तानको लाग नास्ति गरी तपसील वमोजी-
- 18 मका नीज ईन्द्र र नीजका जहानस्मेत जना
- 19 ७ लाई हामीवाट पार गरीवक्स्यौं आफु
- 20 खुसी भै आफ्ना पुसीसंग वसन्त्या काम
- 21 गर भन्या वेहोराको नीज ईन्द्रस्मेत तपसी-
- 22 लको कमारा कमारीका नाउमा पारपत्रको

- 23 रूक्का दण्डित गरीवक्सनु पन्या ठहरा-  
 24 ज्यू जो मर्जी हुकुम भनि सदर जंगी कोत  
 25 वाली ईन्द्रचोक ठानावाट हाम्रा हजुर-  
 26 मा वीन्ती पार्दा जाहेर भयो । तसर्थ नीज क-  
 27 णैलले मोगलानामा गयाका वागी राणा-

[170]

- 28 जीसंग लेषापढी गर्याकाले ईन्द्रले हा-  
 29 म्रा हजुरमा जाहेर गर्याका रीझ वापत नी-  
 30 ज कणैलको र नीजका संतान दरसंता-  
 31 नको र नीजका हकवाला दा-  
 32 ज्युभाईका संतान दरसंतानको लाग  
 33 नास्ति गरी ईन्द्रेका तपसील वमोजीम-  
 34 का जहान ७ जनालाई हामीवाट पार  
 35 गरीवक्स्यौं । आफु पुसी भै आफ्ना पुसी-  
 36 संग वसन्त्या काम गर । ---  
 37 तपसील  
 नीज ईन्द्रे ---१                      ऐंको आमा वडी १  
 ऐंको दाजु जसवीरे १                ऐंको भाई माहावीरे १  
 ऐंको वैन्ही गुलाफी १                ऐंको स्वास्त्रि चीनीजा  
     वदत ---१  
 ऐंको भाई कुहारीमीरा १  
 42 ईति सम्बत १९४३ साल मीति श्रावण  
 43 वदी ६ रोज ५ सुभम् ।

Translation:

[168]

[No.] 129<sup>104</sup>

*Praśastisau*<sup>105</sup>

Āge: to the male and female slaves listed [below] belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Samara Bahādura Rājabhaṇḍārī.

Concerning the following (*yathocita uprānta*): [The following] became known to us when the Central Police Station (Sadara Jaṅgī

104 This probably is the number given in the original register.

105 *Praśastisau* is a term used in copies of documents to indicate that there is a eulogy (*praśasti*) in the original.

Koṭavālī Īndracoka Ṭhānā) put a request to us stating: “In accordance with a double stamped order<sup>106</sup> of Tuesday, the 1<sup>st</sup> of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in [VS 19]43 addressed to the administrative head and the staff of this office, stating that a *sanada* [in the form] of a deed of emancipation should be issued to the entire family of a slave who reported that Samara Bahādura Rājabhaṇḍārī has engaged in correspondence with rebel Rāṇās living in Mogalānā (i.e., India). We recommend that Your Excellency issue an executive order (*rukka daskhata*) [in the form] of a deed of emancipation (*pārapatra*) in the name of the listed slaves including Īndra, with the following details:

[169]

‘For the good services of these [slaves] who have reported to us (i.e., to the king and the prime minister) about the correspondence engaged in [by Samara Bahādura] with rebel Rāṇās living in Mogalānā, we have emancipated the 7 [slaves]—including the aforementioned Īndra and his family members included in the list [below]—so that the aforementioned Colonel [Samara Bahādura], his descendants, his siblings and their descendants with a claim to them shall lose [all such] claim. Live happily and according to your own wishes.’”

[170]

For this reason, as a reward for the good services of Īndra in reporting to us that the aforementioned colonel has been in correspondence with the Rāṇās who have gone to Mogalānā, we have emancipated the 7 family members of Īndre listed [below] so that the aforementioned Colonel [Samara Bahādura], his descendants, his siblings and their descendants with a claim to them shall lose [all such] claim. Live happily and according to your own wishes.

Particulars (*tapasila*):

The aforementioned Īndre – 1	His mother Baḍī – 1
His elder brother Jasavīre – 1	His younger brother Māhāvīre – 1
His younger sister Gulāphī – 1	His wife Cīnīnā Vadata – 1
His younger brother Kuhārīmīrā – 1	

106 *Hukuma marjī*, i.e., order of both the king and the prime minister (cf. Michaels 2005: 92 fn. 6). The double stamp in this document therefore refers to that of King Pṛthvī Vīra Vikrama and Prime Minister Bīra Śamśera Rāṇā.



Thursday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] era year 1943 (1886 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary:

This document, copied into Vol. 53, pp. 168–70 of the Regmi Research Collection, is an order from the king/prime minister regarding emancipation of seven slaves belonging to Lieutenant Colonel Samara Bahādura Rājabhaṇḍārī. As it states, Samara Bahādura's traitorous activities of engaging in correspondence with rebel Rāṇās living in India was reported to the authority by Indre, one of the slaves. The rebel Rāṇās refer to the Jaṅga Rāṇās who took refuge in India after Bīra Śamśera's coup d'état of 1885. Samara Bahādura was the son of Colonel Siddhi Māna Rājabhaṇḍārī. R. Shaha (1990/II: 8) mentions of the incident when Bīra Śamśera was personally present in Khaḍga Śamśera's house to punish Samara Bahādura. This document has also been discussed in Regmi (1981: 63–64).

#### 4.8 An emancipation deed drawn up by Kaisām Khunu to free his female slave Palsām Buṭī after his death (E\_3446\_0032)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1949 (1892 CE); Private collection of Tsering Wangdu, Nubri, no. 10; microfilmed as NGMPP E 3446/32; for the digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.36827>.

Edition:

[1r]

[A seal probably of Kaisām Khunu]

- 1 स्वस्ति । स्म[वत्] १९४९ साल मीति कार्तिक शुदी ९ रोज ६ का दीन्मा
- 2 लेषीतम् । म अठार सये षोला मधे सामागांऊ वश्रे कैसां पुनु [आ]-
- 3 मे ४९ सालका वर्षामा गाँऊघर अनीकाल पर्दा नीजै गाँऊ [वश्रे]
- 4 पल्सां छीरीं २ जानी र छोरी पल्सां वुटी ईन्हरूले मेरा घरमा [आ]-
- 5 ई हाम्रा जहान् भोक् अनीकाल्ले सारे दुष पायो हाम्-
- 6 रा जीया वचाईदीन पर्यो भनी नीज पल्सां छीरीं २ जानीले र
- 7 नीजका छोरीले भन आऊदा नीज पल्सां छीरीं २ जानीले मेरा

8 छोरी पल्सां वुटीको मोल्मोलाई गरीली धर्म टेकाई दीन प-  
 9 र्यो भनी भंदा १९४९ सालका जेश्ठ शुदी ५ रोज २ का [दी]-  
 10 न्मा नीजहरूको मासीने जात् हुनाले पल्सां छीरीका [छो]-  
 11 रि पल्सां वुटी वर्ष १४ भयाका परम्पट्टा र नीज केटीका [रा]-  
 12 जीनामास्मेत्को कागज गरी मोल मोरू २५ नीज केटीका वावु  
 13 र आमासंग बुझाई कपालमा तेल् ठोकी ५।६ मैना कमारी  
 14 सरह काम् लगाई भोक् चलन् भयाको हो । हाल् के गरु ।  
 15 येस पल्सां वुटी कमारी मैले ली केही प्रयोजन् छैन । पापु[...]  
 16 कोठीमा बस्या जस्तो लाक्दा र येस केटिलाई आजसम्म क[मा]-  
 17 री छ तापनी अवप्रान्त मेरा जीयाभर जीऊपार गरीदीञ्चूं । [का]-  
 18 म्काज र मेरा चाकडी मेरा जीयाभर गर्नु । मेरो जीया-  
 19 ले छोडनापछी जात पनी काम् पनी पारपछीना भयो । मेरा  
 20 सन्तान्वाट ७ पुस्तातक् कसैले हाम्रा वावु वाजेको  
 21 कमारी हो भनी पक्रीइ दीन पाऊदैन । जसले दुष दीन्छ  
 22 कमारी भनी काम् चलायो भन्या मेरा सराप्ले ज[ल]-  
 23 न हवस् । मेरा जीयाभर काम् चाकडीमा कटछ । जा[त]-  
 24 मा कर छैन । नीज केटीको जात्भात् सुद्ध गरी मेरा जी[या]-  
 25 भरको काम्मात्र गर्नु भन्थे वेहोरको धर्मपत्रको  
 26 कागज लेषी ईस्वर<sup>107</sup> जीऊमा अर्पनम् गरी नीज पल्सां  
 27 वुटीको वावु पल्सां छीरीं २ जानीलाई सहीछाप गरी  
 28 दीञ्चूं । येस वेहोराको साछी तहवील्दार मर्गा गुरुं १ वंप-  
 29 रा थकाली १ सामागाऊका मनचीत् मुषीया १ ऐं गाऊका [...]  
 30 भोटे १ लेषत्<sup>108</sup>का साछी थाक्कुचेगाऊका काम् [...]  
 31 थकाली १ । मीती सद शु । ---

[Iv]

1 श्रीसरस्वति भग[व]ति गुरु पिता चीत्रगुप्त नमस्तु ते ।

Translation:

[Iv]

[A seal probably of Kaisām Khunu]

Hail! Written on Friday, the 9<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Kārtika in the [Vikrama] era year 1949 (1892 CE) [by] me, Kaisām Khunu, resident of Sāmā Gāū, [which lies] in the Aṭhāra Saya Kholā [region].

107 Uncertain reading.

108 Read: *lekhaka*.

*Āge*: During the rainy season of the year [VS 19]49, when a famine occurred in the immediate surroundings, Palsām Chīrīm 2 jānī<sup>109</sup> and [their] daughter Palsām Buṭī came to my house and said: “Our family has suffered excessively due to hunger and famine. Please save our lives.” Palsām Chīrīm 2 jānī then said: “Please determine a price for my daughter Palsām Buṭī and uphold the *dharma* by accepting (i.e., buying) her.” After he said this, since they were of an enslavable caste (*māsīne jāṭ*), on Monday, the 5<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Jyeṣṭha in the year [VS] 1949, after arranging a *paramabhaṭṭā* together with a deed of relinquishment (*rājīnāmā*) from the girl, [I] handed over 25 *mohararu-paiyās* [as the price] for the 14-year-old Palsām Buṭī to her father and mother. [The girl officially became my slave] through oil being applied to her head (*kapālmā tel ṭhokī*).

[I] have been assigning her work and using her as a slave for a period of 5 or 6 months. What shall I do now? I have no use for this Palsām Buṭī as a slave. It has felt like living in a house of sin, and [therefore] even though this girl has been a slave up until today, I shall free her while I am [still] alive. Throughout my life she should work for and serve me. After my death she is free from both caste and work [obligations]. None of my descendants down to the 7<sup>th</sup> generation may take possession of her, stating: “[She was] the slave of our ancestors.” May whoever trouble her or uses her for work as a slave be burnt [to death] under my curse. [Her time] will be spent in work and service [for me] throughout my life. She has no obligations [afterwards] regarding her caste. The said girl shall only work for the remainder of my life, [thereby?] purifying her caste and rice commensality [status].<sup>110</sup> I have written this religiously solemnized document (*dharmapatra*), offered it to the body of the Lord, signed it and shall [now] hand it over to Palsām Chīrīm 2 jānī, the father of the said [slave] Palsām Buṭī.

The witnesses to this document are: Tahabildāra Margā Guruṃ – 1, Vaṃparā Thakālī – 1, Manacīt, the mukhiyā of Sāmā Gāū – 1, ...<sup>111</sup> Bhoṭe of the same village – 1 and the witness of the writer Kām ...<sup>112</sup> Thakālī of Thākṭukce Gāū – 1. The date is valid. Auspiciousness.

109 The meaning is unclear. It may mean “2 persons”, i.e., Palsām Chīrīm and his wife. However, in line 27 of the document, the father of Palsām Buṭī seems to be called Palsām Chīrīm 2 jānī, as if 2 Jānī were part of his name.

110 It is not clear whether she is purified first and proceeds to work for the rest of the master’s life or the purification is something she herself does by serving for the rest of his life.

111 A lacuna in the original.

112 A lacuna in the original.

[Iv]

I bow down to the glorious goddess Sarasvatī, [my] guru, [my] father and Citragupta.

Commentary:

This is a document from the collection of Tsering Wangdu of Nubri. It mentions the owner's applying oil to the forehead of the slave. One may assume that this was a ritual performed to formalize the act of enslavement. The Ain-54 repeatedly mentions the phrase *tela thoknu*, "to anoint with oil", in the context of enslavement without explaining it further. This document places the practice within one concrete situation. Later in the document, the master declares that the slave girl's caste is purified (of its slave status), so that she would not remain enslaved after his death. This may prove that it was possible for a slave owner to raise the caste status of his slaves to a non-enslavable one, especially in a northern society. The identity of the master, Kaisām Khunu, is not clear. Another document (Tsum\_0001\_0014) concerning tax collection in Pāro Gāū of the Aṭhāra Saya Kholā region mentions the name Kaisām Khunu as the *jimmāvāla*<sup>113</sup>.

#### 4.9 A deed executed by Chiriṃ Buṭi of Sāmā Gāū providing for the future emancipation of her female slave Kārto (L\_1200\_0016)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1949 (1892/93 CE); Private collection of Tsering Wangdu, Nubri; microfilmed as NGMPP L 1200/16; for the digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/25031>.

Edition:

1 श्री \

[Unknown seal]

1 लेषक साङ्गी राइटर बाका विर श्रेष्ठ स्त्री \_\_\_\_\_ १

113 *Jimmāvāla*: a revenue collection functionary in the hill districts.

1 लिषितम् १८ स[य] षोला मध्ये स्यारपट्टी भोट सामागाउं वरूया  
 2 सुब्बेनि छिरिं वुटि । आगे यहि साल गाउमा साहो अनिका-  
 3 ल पर्दा षाना वेगर सवै मरूया । हाम्रा पनि घरमा सावगास नहुं-  
 4 नाले अंन षाना वेगर मर्न लागीयो । मेरो ज्यू दाता भै तपाजीका  
 5 घरमा जुनिभर कारिया [करिया] भै वस्छु भनि सोही गाउ वरूया छि-  
 6 रिं वुटी तोडाकी<sup>114</sup> छोरि कार्तोले मेरा घरमा आइ रुंदा करा-  
 7 उंदा लौ भनि निज कार्तो वर्ष १८ उमेर भयाकी षाना वेगर मर्न ला-  
 8 ग्दा र निजकी आमा सानु छीरिं वुटिले पनि मजुर गरि साछी  
 9 ग्वाहा<sup>115</sup>स्मेत् राषि कागजपत्र गरि दींदा निज केटीको मोल् वदे  
 10 मोरू ३५ निजकी आमा सानु छीरिं वुटीका हातमा गनि दी नि-  
 11 ज कार्तोलाइ मानु ष्वाइ काज लाइराष्याको हो । आज निज के-  
 12 टीको माजा लाग्यो र यस्लाइ पार दीन्यै हो भंन्या मेरा चीत्तमा  
 13 लागूनाले र अरू २ जनालाइ पनि मेरा षसम र छोराले  
 14 स्मेत् धर्म गरि छाडेको देषुदा मलाइ पनि छाडीदीउं भंन्या  
 15 लाग्यो र निज कार्तो करिया हो ता पनि मेरा षसमका ज्यूता-  
 16 भर हाम्रा चाकडी गरि वस्तु षानु सेषपछि आफु सुषि भै जा-  
 17 हा मन् लाग्छ वाहा गै षानु वस्तु भनि धर्म जानि पार गरि  
 18 दीजा । कालकला हाम्रा सन्तान् दरसन्तान् कसैले करिया  
 19 होस् भनि कार्तोलाइ नपक्रनु । पक्रयो भन्या हाम्रा सन्तान्को  
 20 हार कार्तोको जित् भनि मेरा षुसि राजिसंग धर्म जानि  
 21 हाइ चोषो गराइ पारपत्र लेषि निज कार्तोलाइ दीजा । इती  
 22 सम्बत् १९४९ साल मीती पौष सुदी [ ]<sup>116</sup> रोज [ ]<sup>117</sup> शुभम् ।

Translation:

Śrī

[Unknown seal]

Scribe, witness and writer (*rāṭīṭara*) Vākā Vīra Śreṣṭha, signed – 1

Written by Subbenī Chiriṃ Buṭi, a resident of Sāmā Gāū<sup>118</sup> towards the Syāra<sup>119</sup> side of the Bhoṭ region [and] within [the confines of] Athāra Sāya Kholā.

114 Reading is unclear in the original.

115 Read: *gavāha*.

116 Space for the day of the fortnight left blank in the original.

117 Space for the day of the week left blank in the original.

118 Text: *sāmāgāmū*.

119 Syāra/Sāra is the name of the 13 districts of Lower and Upper Tsum once given to the region by the Nepalese government, but it is not used in the

*Āge*: When Kārto, the daughter of Chiriṃ Buṭi Toṅā<sup>120</sup> who is a resident of the aforementioned village, came to my house and lamented, saying: “With the famine that occurred this year in the village, all [those] people died through a lack of food. Since there are no supplies in our house, we too are about to die of hunger. I will be the donor of my own body and will stay in your house as a slave (*kariyā*) for the rest of my life,” I agreed to it. Since the 18-year-old Kārto was about to die without food, and since her mother Sānu Chiriṃ Buṭi agreed to it and signed the deed in the presence of witnesses, I counted out 35 *mohararupaiyās* and handed them over to the mother, Sānu Chiriṃ Buṭi, as the price of the said slave (*keṭī*). I have fed and employed her for work [since then]. Today I feel pity for this slave and that I should definitely free her. Having seen my husband and son, too, freeing 2 other persons in the practice of pious act (*dharma*), I also felt that I should free [her].

Even though the aforementioned Kārto is [still] a slave, I have freed her with the intention of *dharma*, stating: “She shall serve us and be fed throughout the life of my husband. After [his] death, she may happily go wherever she wants and live according to her own wishes.” None of our descendants shall take possession of her in the future, stating: “You are a slave.” If anyone takes possession of her, our descendants shall be defeated and Kārto shall be victorious.

I have, with pious intention, willingly freed<sup>121</sup> the said Kārto, written this deed of emancipation (*pārapatra*), and handed it over to her.

...<sup>122</sup> day of the bright fortnight of Pauṣa in the [Vikrama] era year 1949 (1892/1893 CE). Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document in the private collection of Tsering Wangdu in Nubri is a deed providing for the emancipation of a slave posthumously. Issued by Chiriṃ Buṭi of Sāmā Gāū, it frees her slave Kārto on condition that she remains in service throughout the life of her owner’s husband. Eighteen-year-old Kārto, with the permission of her parents, sold

local vernacular. It may be related to the Tibetan word *shar*, which means “east”.

120 This word is unclear in the original. Her name is mentioned as Sānu Chiriṃ Buṭi later in the document.

121 *Hāda cokho garāi*, lit. “having [her] bones purified”; This expression, similar to “*hādapāra*” in the *Ain*, is used when a slave has been freed from enslavement, but not yet from servitude (*Ain*-54 § 82.16).

122 The weekday and the day of the month are omitted in the original.

herself into slavery because the family was unable to support itself due to a famine that occurred in 1892. Another slavery-related document from the same area, Document 4.8 (E\_3446\_0032), specifies that the famine occurred in that area during the rainy season of the year.

The document emancipated Kārto from enslavement, but not from servitude. The expression used in this document to free her from slavery, “*hāda cokho garāi*”, is in causative case which might suggest that the emancipation involved a separate act, possibly a ritual one. The Document 4.8 also uses somewhat similar phraseology suggestive of a ritual uplifting of the slave’s caste and rice commensality status.

#### 4.10 A *purjī* from Deva Śamśera Jaṅga Bahādura Rāṇā to the Guṭhī Bakyautā Tahasila Aḍḍā re the emancipation of seven slaves (K\_0614\_0021)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1955 (1898 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, card no. 320 (81), 3 Sa. Gu. Ban. Pan. 1 Po. no. 10; microfilmed as NGMPP K 614/21; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/41019>.

Edition:

1 श्री \

1 श्री ३ सर्कार

2 १

1 श्री आर्य्या

2 २

1 81

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमद्राजकुमारकुमारात्मजश्रीकम्यांदरईणचीफ्जनरलदेवसमसेरजङ्गरा-
- 2 णावहादुरकस्य थापाथली -१-तर्फ गुठी वक्यौता तहसील अदाका हाकीम् का-
- 3 रीन्दाके पुर्जी । ऊप्रान्त -२-घाटपारी सती मुदा<sup>123</sup> दाहा गर्न्या दाऊरा गुठीमा दरीयाको
- 4 कागतिगाऊस्मेत् ३ गाऊको ५२।५३ सालमा ठेक ईजारा लीन्या सोही ठाऊको वलभ-
- 5 द्र षत्री छेत्रीको म धन ज्मानी भयाको हुनाले नीजले बुझाऊनु नसक्दा मोहरू ८१२

- 6 रूपैजा वाकी राषीदीदा सो रूपैजा दाषील गर्न सक्याको नहुनाले गुठी वक्यौता तहसी-  
 7 ल् अदावाट हवाला लाग्याको छ । सो वाकी ऊपर गर्न मेरा घरैया तपसील वमोजी-  
 8 म्का कमारा कमारी लीलाम वीक्री गरि नगद पारी पठाईदीनु भन्या पश्वीम् १ लम्ब-  
 9 र वक्यौता तहसील अदाका नाऊमा सनद गरी वक्से म अनाथ ब्राह्मण पनी दु-  
 10 ष छुट्ने छ । प्रभु जो मर्जी हुकुम् भनी लेफ्टेन् ज्येदु कुमार पण्डितले हाम्रा ह[जु]र-  
 11 मा वीन्ती पार्दा जाहेर भै ऐन वमोजीम् ठेक्दारको जायजात्वाट नपुगी धन जमानी  
 नीज  
 12 लेफ्टेन्को जायजात्वाट पुत्रे भयातापनी धन जमानीको कमारा कमारीहरूलाई ते-  
 13 स अदामार्फट झीकाई हामीवाट नजर गरीवक्सी नीज तपसील वमोजीम्का कमारा  
 कमारी  
 14 ज्यु ७ को अघी ज्यू मासीयाका जातका १६ लम्बरका ऐन वमोजीम्को मोल मोहरू ४  
 15 ५२॥ धन जमानी लेफ्टेन् ज्येदु कुमारलाई ठेक् वाकी मध्ये मीन्हा दी वाकी रूपैया  
 तरता-  
 16 कीती गरीलीनु । नीज कमारा कमारीहरूलाई हामीवाट अमलेषको दसषत गरी  
 वक्स्याको हु-  
 17 नाले नीज ठेक्दार वलभद्र षत्री छेत्रीसगका वाकी ठेक् रूपैजा मध्ये सो कमारा कमारी  
 18 ज्यु ७ को मोल मोहरू ४५२॥ ढपोट्मा मीन्हा लेषनु । वही बुझदा मोजरा होला ।
- 19 तपसील  
 20 वर्ष ४५ को हर्षे कमोरा<sup>124</sup> १ के मोहरू ४५  
 21 वर्ष ४२ को जमुनी कमारी १ के ऐ रू ६०  
 22 वर्ष २१ को स्यती कमारी १ के ऐ १२०  
 23 वर्ष १७ को कासी कमारी १ के ऐ १२०  
 24 वर्ष २ को स्येतीको छोरी बुध लक्ष्मी कमारी १ के ऐ २५  
 25 वर्ष १२ को काले कमारो १ के ऐ ४१।  
 26 वर्ष ८ को स्येत्ये कमारो १ के ऐ ४१।
- 27 ईती सम्वत् १९५५ साल मीती प्र आश्वीण शुदी रोज । शुभम् ।

Translation:

Śrī

Śrī 3 Sarkāra – 1

Śrī Āryā[ghāṭa]<sup>125</sup> – 2

124 Read: *kamāro*.

125 Āryaghāṭa, a cremation site at Pashupati in Kathmandu.



81<sup>126</sup>

Hail! A *purjī* of the venerable Commander-in-Chief General Deva Śamśera Jaṅga Rāṇā Bahādura, a venerable prince born of a prince, to the chief and clerk(s) of the Guṭhī Bakyautā Tahasila Aḍḍā of Thāpāthalī, [which operates] under Śrī 3 Sarkāra.

*Uprānta*: [The following] became known [to us] when Lieutenant Jyedu Kumāra Paṇḍita made petition to us, stating: “I am standing surety (*dhana jamānī*) for Balabhadra Khatrī Chetrī [of Kāgati Gāū] who obtained a contract to collect revenue (*theka ijārā*) for the years [VS 19]52/53 from the 3 villages including Kāgati Gāū that are registered under the Dāurā Guṭhī<sup>127</sup> which cremates of the bodies of *satīs* [at the place] located opposite of Āryaghāṭa, but he could not pay [the revenue] in full, leaving 812 *mohararupaiyās* outstanding, and since he has been unable to pay the money, I am obliged by the Guṭhī Bakyautā Tahasila Aḍḍā<sup>128</sup> to do so. In order to come up with the amount due—if [Your Majesty] could issue a *sanada* in the name of the Bakyautā Tahasila Aḍḍā of West number 1 to auction the slave men and women of my house listed below, turning them into cash and sending on (the amount due), then the suffering of this helpless Brahmin would go away. My Lord, your wish is my command.”

Even though [the money that could be raised] from the property of the aforementioned bondsman lieutenant would suffice, [the amount obtained] from the property of the contractor in accordance with the *Ain* being insufficient, nevertheless after examining the bondsman’s slaves when the aforementioned office produced them [in front of us], [we issue here an order that] the total price of the listed 7 slaves—452 *mohararupaiyās* 2 *sukās* according to [Section] 16 of the [article on] Enslaved Castes (*gyū māsiyākā jātakā*) in the *Ain*—should be cancelled for the bondsman Lieutenant Jyedu Kumāra from the amount due on the contractual payment (*theka*). Take the remaining balance, having urged him (to accept this solution). Since we have signed the emancipation of the aforementioned slaves,<sup>129</sup> the price of the 7 slaves, 452 *mohararupaiyās* 2 *sukās*, should be noted in the ledger (*dhapota*)

126 This number represents a running count of documents recorded in the ledger.

127 Lit. Firewood Guṭhī, the *guṭhī* responsible for [supplying] firewood [for funeral pyres] and cremating.

128 The office responsible for collecting revenue on taxable lands belonging to *guṭhīs*.

129 See Document 4.11 (K\_0614\_0023) for the document in which Deva Śamśera declares the emancipation of the seven slaves.

as an exemption from the contractual payment to be received from the aforementioned contractor Balabhadra Khatrī Chetrī. [The exempted amount] will be deducted at the time of the [annual] submission of accounts (*bāhi bujhdā*).

Particulars

For 1 male slave, Harṣe, aged 45	45 <i>mohararupaiyās</i>
For 1 female slave, Jamunī, aged 42	60 <i>mohararupaiyās</i>
For 1 female slave, Syatī, aged 21	120 <i>mohararupaiyās</i>
For 1 female slave, Kāsī, aged 17	120 <i>mohararupaiyās</i>
For 1 female slave, Budha Lakṣmī, the daughter of Syetī, aged 2	25 <i>mohararupaiyās</i>
For 1 male slave, Kāle, aged 12	41 <i>mohararupaiyās</i> 1 <i>sukā</i>
For 1 male slave, Syetye, aged 8	41 <i>mohararupaiyās</i> 1 <i>sukā</i>

1<sup>st</sup> of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] era year 1955 (1898 CE). Auspiciousness.

Commentary:

This *purjī* document is an order issued by Deva Śamśera to the *guṭhī* revenue department to endorse the emancipation of seven slaves belonging to Jyedu Kumāra Paṇḍita. As the document states, Jyedu Kumāra intended to hand those slaves over to fulfil part of the compensation he was obliged to pay to the department. Instead, Deva Śamśera freed the slaves and deducted their value from the amount owed by Jyedu Kumāra.

Deva Śamśera issued this document as the commander-in-chief. He ruled as the prime minister of Nepal for 114 days from 5 March to 27 June 1901. Prior to that, he had served under Prime Minister Bīra Śamśera for thirteen years as commanding general, senior commanding general and commander-in-chief (R. Shaha 1990/II: 29–30). He is regarded as a progressive ruler and made some attempt to abolish slavery in Nepal in the short period of his prime ministership, emancipating a total of 767 slaves alone during his enthronement ceremony. The slaves emancipated during the ceremony are listed in Ḍaṅgola, Rājavaṃśī, and Vajrācārya (VS 2041: 115–20). Afterwards the prime minister attempted to emancipate all female slaves in Kaski and Lamjung, districts over which he had direct authority. Perceval Landon (Landon 1928/II: 81) mentions that he planned to emancipate slaves in Kathmandu as well. Given the opposition of slave owners, however, he did not succeed in either of these undertakings. He did

manage, though, to issue an order on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the dark fortnight of Āṣāḍha in VS 19589 banning the buying, selling, pledging as security and donating slaves (Nepālī VS 2021: 16–17).

The document mentions a certain Section 16 of the *Ain* for determining the price of slaves. It is not clear which edition of the *Ain* this refers to. In the *Ain* of 1854, the prices of slaves are found in Section 4 of Article 82, which is entitled Jyū Māsnyā Becanyā (see Fezas 2000/I: 409–10 and Ain-54 § 82.4). The prices remained unchanged in the amended *Ain* of 1870 (Ain-70: 224).

For the actual emancipatory declaration issued to the slaves mentioned in this document, see Document 4.11 (K\_0614\_0023).

#### 4.11 A letter from Deva Śamśera Jaṅga Bahādura Rāṅā emancipating seven slaves belonging to Jyedu Kumāra Paṇḍita (K\_0614\_0023)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1955 (1898 CE); Guṭhī Saṃsthāna, Bhadrakālī, card no. 320 (83), 3 Sa. Gu. Ban. Pan. 1 Po. no. 10; microfilmed as NGMPP K 614/23; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/41020>.

Edition:

1 [श्री \]

1 श्री आज्या

2 १

1 श्री ३ सर्कार

2 २

1 83

1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमद्राजकुमारकुमारात्मजश्रीकम्यांडरईनचीफ्जतरलदेवसस्सेर-  
जङ्गराणावहादुरकस्य पत्रम् । ---

2 आगे कासी कमारिके । यथोचीत् ऊप्रान्त -१-घाटपारी सती मुर्दा दाहा गन्या दाऊरा  
१। गुठीमा दरियाका का-

3 गतीगाऊस्मेत् ३ गाऊको ५२/५३ सालमा ठेक् ईजारा लीन्या सोही थाऊको वल्भद्र  
पत्रि क्षेत्रीको धन् जमा-

- 4 नी लेफटेन् ज्यदु कुमार पंडीतले वाकी मध्ये मेरा घरैया कमारा कमारी लीलाम् वीक्री गरी नगद पारी
- 5 भर्ना गरीवक्से म अनाथ ब्राह्मणको दुष छुट्दो हो । जो मर्जी हुकुम् भनी तीम्रा षस्म् नीज लेफटे-
- 6 न् ज्यदु कुमार पंडीतले हाम्रा हजुरमा वीन्ती पार्दा जाहेर भै तीमीलाई थापाथली -२-तर्फ गुठी वक्यौ-
- 7 ता तहसील् अडामार्फत् झीकाई हामीवाट नजर गरीवक्सी तीम्रा वर्ष १७ का ज्यू १ को अधि ज्यू मा-
- 8 सीयाका जात्का १६ लंम्बरका ऐन् वमोजीम्को मोल् मोहरू १२० तीम्रा षस्म धन् जमानी लेफटे-
- 9 न् ज्यदु कुमार पंडीतलाई ठेक् वाकीमध्ये मीन्हा दी तीमीलाई अम्लेषको दस्पत् गरीवक्स्यौ । हाम्रो
- 10 जय मनार्ई आफुपुसी अम्लेष भै वस्त्रे काम् गर । १९५५ साल् मीती ६ आश्वीण वदी ३ रोज १ । शुभम् ।

अरू वेहोरा सदर	स्यती कमारि वर्ष २१ को मोल् रू १२० अरू वेहोरा सदरको	१
अरू वेहोरा सदर	हर्षे कमारो वर्ष ४५ को मोल रू ४५ अरू वेहोरा सदरको	१
ऐं	जमुनी कमारी वर्ष ४२ को मोल रू ६० अरू ऐं	१
ऐं	स्यते कमारो वर्ष ८ को मोल रू ४१। अरू ऐं	१
ऐं	काले कमारो वर्ष १२ को मोल् रू ४१। अरू ऐं	१
ऐं	बुद्धलक्ष्मी कमारी वर्ष २ को मोल् रू २५ अरू ऐं	१

Translation:

Śrī

Śrī Āryā[ghāṭa] – 1

Śrī 3 Sarkāra – 2

83<sup>130</sup>

Hail! A letter of the venerable Commander-in-Chief General Deva Śamśera Jaṅga Rāṅā Bahādura, a venerable prince born of a prince.

*Āge*: To the female slave Kāsī.

*Yathocita uprānta*: It became known to us when your master, Lieutenant Jyadu Kumāra Paṇḍita,<sup>131</sup> who is standing surety (*dhana jamānī*) for Balabhadra Khatrī Chetrī [of Kāgati Gāū]—who had obtained a contract to collect revenue (*theka ijārā*) for the years [VS 19]52/53 from 3 villages including Kāgati Gāū that are registered under the Dāurā Guṭhī which cremates the bodies of *satīs* [at the place] located opposite Āryaghāṭa—made petition to us, saying: “[If Your Majesty] could turn my household slaves into cash by auctioning them off and thereby [helping to] offset an amount due, the suffering of this helpless Brahmin would go away. Your wish is my command.” After the Guṭhī Bakyaūtā Tahasila Aḍḍā of Thāpāthalī, [which operates] under Śrī 3 Sarkāra, produced you [in front of us] and we examined you, the price—according to [Section] 16 of the [article on] Enslaved Castes (*vyū māsiyākā jātakā*) in the Ain—of 17-years-old body of yours, 120 *mohararupaiyās*, has been cancelled for your master, the bondsman Lieutenant Jyedu Kumāra, from the amount due on the contractual payment (*theka*). For you we have signed [a deed] of emancipation. Celebrate our victories and, having been emancipated, live as you wish.

Sunday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the dark fortnight of Āśvina in the year [VS] 1955 (1898 CE). Auspiciousness.

Other details are valid	Female slave Syatī, aged 21, price: 120 rupees; other details are valid	1
Other details are valid	Male slave Harṣe, aged 45, price: 45 rupees; other details are valid	1
ditto	Female slave Jamunī, aged 42, price: 60 rupees; ditto	1
ditto	Male slave Syate, aged 8, price: 41 rupees and 1 <i>sukā</i> ; ditto	1
ditto	Male slave Kāle, aged 12, price: 41 rupees and 1 <i>sukā</i> ; ditto	1
ditto	Female slave Buddha Lakṣmī, aged 2, price: 25 rupees; ditto	1

131 In Document 4.10 (K\_0614\_0021), his name is spelled as Jyedu Kumāra Paṇḍita.

### Commentary:

This is a written order from Deva Śamśera Jaṅga Bahādura Rāṇā emancipating seven slaves belonging to Jyedu Kumāra Paṇḍita, who had intended to have them auctioned off in order to pay a sum owed to the *guṭhī* revenue department.

## 5. Documents Relating to Slavery Abolition of 1925

### 5.1 An executive order of the commander-in-chief providing instructions to Rūpa Bāhādura Kūvara regarding restitution payments to be made to owners during the emancipation (K\_0188\_0060)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1982 (1926 CE); *Guṭhī Saṁsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Dāsavmocana Aḍḍā*, Po. 5 Ga. Gu. Bam.; microfilmed as NGMPP K 188/60; for digital edition, see DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.44592>.

### Edition:

1 श्री कम्पाडर इन चीफ

[Unknown seal]

1 नकल वमोजीम सकल दुरुस्त छ [Seal reading Śrī Bhaktalāla]

- 1 ले. क. रूप वाहादुर कवरके । यथोचीत उप्रांत । पौख १ गतेका वडापत्रमा स्ही छाप गर्नु पर्नेसंमका
- 2 उमेर पुगीसकेका करीयाको नाम स्ही छापस्मेत नभयाको यती जवान भन्थेसम्म लेखीएका
- 3 करीयाको मोल दीनु पर्देन भन्थे लेखीयेको र कोही कोही करीयाको नाम मात्र भयाको
- 4 स्ही छाप नपरेको कसैको वावुआमाको नाऊ लेखी छोराछोरीको नाऊ नलेखी नावालख
- 5 भन्थेसम्म लेखीयाको यस्तो कलंमा मोल दीने नदीने प्रष्ट नखुलेकोले नीकासा पाऊ
- 6 भनी तीमीले ८२ साल पौख १ गते दासत्वमोचन अडामा लेखोट् गरेको वेहोरा सो
- 7 अडा मार्फत् हाम्रा हजुरमा जाहेर भयाको र यसै वारे सल्ल्याना गौडावाट जाहेर गरेको वेहोरा
- 8 श्री ३ महाराज दाज्यैज्यूका हजुरमा जाहेर हुंदा ८० सालको लगतमा जवांको अंकसम्म
- 9 लेखीयाकोमा स्ही छाप नपरेका करीया १६ वर्ष मनीको रहेछ र सकल लगत भीत्रको

- 10 ठहर्यो भन्ये नावालख सरह कारवाई गरी सवाल सनदको रीत पुर्याई मोल दीनु ते-  
 11 स्तो जवांको अंकसम्म लेखीयका नाम स्ही छाप नपरेका करीया १६ वर्ष माथी भयाकोमा  
 12 दीनु पर्देन भन्ये र लगत हुदा देसपर्देस गैरहेका वा बेरामी भै का[र]ण जनी स्ही छाप  
 पर्नसके-  
 13 का करीयाको पनी लगतमा नाम लेखीयाको रहेछ र लगत भीत्रकै करीया ठहर्यो  
 14 भन्ये मोल दीनु पर्देन भन्ये स्मेत् हुकुं वक्स्येका हुनाले सोही वमोजीम गर्नु । सं १९८२  
 15 साल माघ १९ गते रोज २ । शु । --- [Unknown seal]

Translation:

Venerable Commander-in-Chief<sup>132</sup>

[Unknown seal]

The copy is true to the original [seal of the attester, Bhaktalāla]

To *le. ka.*<sup>133</sup> Rūpa Bāhādura Kavara.

*Yathocīta uprānta:* In your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> of Pauṣa of the [current] year [VS 19]82 to the Dāsātvamocana Aḍḍā (Manumission Office), you wrote: “It is stated in the royal order (*baḍāpatra*) of the 1<sup>st</sup> of Pauṣa: ‘Of the *kariyā* slaves who have reached the age where they are required to provide signatures [but] whose names and signatures are missing, and where only the number of persons is written, no [reimbursement] amount for such slaves need be paid.’ For some slaves, only their names are mentioned without signatures, while some have [only] parents’ names written but not the names of the [actual] sons or daughters, [the latter] being mentioned [only] as minors. It is not clearly stated whether or not the [reimbursement] amount should be paid for them in such cases. May I have [your] decision [on the matter]?” The details of your letter have been presented to us through the aforementioned office.

When this very matter was brought by the Sallyānā District Office to the attention of our brother, Śrī 3 Mahārāja (i.e., Prime Minister Candra Śamśera), he ordered thus: “If in the records (*lagata*) of the year [VS 19]80 only the number of persons (i.e., slaves) has been written down, and if there are slaves below the age of 16 whose signatures are missing, and if they [can] be proven to be recorded in the original

132 The commander-in-chief at the time this document was written was Bhīma Śamśera who held the post at least since 1911.

133 Perhaps abbreviation for lieutenant colonel.

*lagata*, they should be regarded as minors, and the [reimbursement] amount for them shall be paid according to the *sanada* and *savāla*. If the number of such persons has been written down but there are no names and signatures, and if they are above the age of 16, no [reimbursement] amount for them need be paid. If, at the time the record was being prepared, their signatures are missing because they were abroad or sick, even if the names of such *kariyās* have been proven to be recorded in the *lagata*, the [reimbursement] amount for them need not be paid either.” Therefore, do according to what have been mentioned.

Monday, the 19<sup>th</sup> solar day (*gate*) of Māgha in the [Vikrama] era year 1982 (1926 CE). Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document from the commander-in-chief provides instructions to Rūpa Bāhādura Kavara regarding restitution payments to be made to owners during the manumission of slaves after 1925, in cases where the slaves’ names or signatures are missing in the record books. Referring to orders from the prime minister, it states that, of the *kariyā* slaves whose signatures are missing, only those below the age of sixteen must be compensated for. This duplicate document is attested by one Bhaktalāla.

### 5.2 A letter from the king instructing Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā in Pyuthana to check documents relating to money spent for the emancipation of slaves so that the officiating government agent can be provided with clearance (K\_0188\_0061)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1982 (1926 CE); Guṭhī Saṁsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Dāsavamocana Aḍḍā, Po. 5 Ga. Gu. Bam.; microfilmed as NGMPP K 188/61; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/39589>.

### Edition:

1 [?] वाट

2 नकल ---

[Seal with the legend: *śrī 5 guṭhi bandovasta aḍā 1977*]



[Unknown seal]

[Seal with the legend: *śrī 5 guṭhi bandovasta adā 1977*]

- 1 गुठी वंदोवस्त अडाका हाकीम कारीन्दाले पुर्जा हेरी नेपाल गोर्षा राजभर मुलुकका लगत् भये-
- 2 का करीयाको मोल धनीलाई तीरी करीया अमलेष गर्ने गरीवक्स्येको हुनाले मध्येस पाहाड् गोस्वारा
- 3 जील्ला गौडा ईलाकाको करीयाको मोल तीरी अमलेष गर्ने काम्मा षठीयका अफीसरहरूले गरेका
- 4 काम्को वासलात वुझी फरफारष गरीदीने कामलाई तपसील्का जील्ला गौडा गोस्वारा ईलाका-
- 5 को तपसीलका अडा अडावाट गर्ने गरीवक्स्येको छ । सो वमोजीम् वासलात जाची फरफारष दी-
- 6 नालाई अडा अडाका नाउमा जो चाहीने वेहोराको सनद गरीदीने कां गर भन्ने यस अडाका नाउ भयको
- 7 ८२ साल मार्ग ११ गते ५ का षड्गनीसाना सनदमा प्यूठाना जील्ला ईलाकाको गुठी वंदोवस्त अडा-
- 8 वाट जचाउनु भन्ये लेषीयाको हुनाले सो प्यूठाना ईलाकाको लगत भयेका करीयाको मोल धनीलाई
- 9 तीरी करिया अमलेष गर्ने काम्मा पाल्पा गौडाका मे. क. वीरजङ्ग साहालाई पठाईवक्सी नी-
- 10 जले सो जील्लामा गै लेषीया वमोजीम् करीयाको मोल धनीलाई दी करीया अमलेष गर्ने काम
- 11 [गर्दै रहेको] हुनाले सो काम खतम् भैसकेपछी नीजका नाउमा भयका सवाल सनद वमोजीम् नी-
- 12 जले गरेका कामको वासील वाकी कागजपत्र जाची वुझी फरफारष गरीदीनालाई गुठी वंदोवस्त
- 13 अडाका नाउमा सनद गरीवक्सनु पर्ने थहराज्यूं भनी दासत्वमोचन अडाका हाकीम कारीन्दा-
- 14 ले हाम्रा हजुरमा वींती पार्दा जाहेर भयो । तसर्थ सो प्यूठाना जील्ला ईलाकाको लगत भयका करी-
- 15 याको मोल धनीलाई दी करीया अमलेष गर्ने कामको वासील वाकी र अरू जो भयको मीसी-
- 16 ल कागजपत्र सवाल सनद धनी र करीयाको सकल लगत (क) फाराम रुपैया वाडदाको (ख) (ग)
- 17 फारामस्मेत वुझी ली जाचवुझ गर्नालाई नीजका नाउमा भयेका सवाल सनद वमोजीम् दासत्वमो-
- 18 चन अडामा दाखील हुनेगरी दासत्वमोचन अडावाट र अरू सवाल सनद कागजपत्रहरू

- 19 सो काम खतम् भैसके पछी नीज मे. क. वीरजङ्ग साहासंग तेस अडाले वुझी ली ऐं  
सवाल व-
- 20 मोजीम् काम भया नभयाको जाची वुझी फारष दीनालाई दासत्वमोचन अडा मार्फत्  
जाहेर ग-
- 21 री सदर भयापछी [?] षतवाट फरफारष गरीदीनु । सो फरफारषको काम षतम्  
भैसके-
- 22 पछी यस वीसयेको[?] वुझी कागजपत्र दासत्व अडामा वुझाईदीने कां गर । ईती  
सम्बत १९८२ साल पौष २६ गते रोज ७ सुभम् ।

Translation:

[Copied] by ...<sup>134</sup>

[Seal with the legend: *śrī 5 guṭhi bandovasta aḍā 1977*]

[Unknown seal]

[Seal with the legend: *śrī 5 guṭhi bandovasta aḍā 1977*]

[To] the administrative head (*hākima*) and officials (*kārindā*) of the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā, [who are requested to] read [the following] letter (*pūrjī*), a petition made by the administrative head and officials of the Dāsātvmocana Aḍḍā, [which] has come to our notice: “In the royal order (*khaḍganiśānā sanada*) of Thursday, the 11<sup>th</sup> solar day of Mārga in the [Vikrama] year [19]82 sent to this office, it is written: ‘[His Majesty] has arranged to manumit [slaves] by paying sums [as reimbursement] for the registered *kariyā* slaves of Nepāla (i.e., the Kathmandu Valley) and (indeed) the entire Gorkhā kingdom. Therefore, for the task of auditing balance sheets (*vāsalāta*) and providing clearance (*pharaphārakha*) to officials who have been despatched to the Madhesa [and] hills—[whethere] districts, *gosvārās*, *gauḍā*)s [or] *īlākās*—to manumit *kariyās*, [His Majesty] has arranged to have the task performed on the basis of the listed (*tapasila*)<sup>135</sup> offices of the listed districts, *gauḍās*, *gosvārās* [and] *īlākās*. Accordingly, give orders (*sanada*) regarding the required matters to the concerned offices in order to (for them) examine the balance sheets and to provide clearance.’ It is written in the (quoted) *sanada* that (in the case) of Pyuthana district, the examination should be carried out by the *īlāka*’s Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā.

134 Illegible text in the original

135 The *tapasila* lists are generally contained within the document. However, the mentioned list is not included in this document.

[His Majesty] dispatched Me. Ka.<sup>136</sup> Vīrajaṅga Sāha of Pālpā Gauḍā for the task of paying the owners the [reimbursement] amount for [their] registered *kariyā* slaves within Pyuthana *īlākā* and manumitting the slaves. He went to this district and is (now), in accordance with the written [instructions], engaged in paying owners the [reimbursement] amount for their *kariyā* slaves and manumitting the latter. Therefore, in order to provide him with clearance once he finishes his task and after the ledger (*vāsila bākī*) and [other] documents concerning the work he has done in accordance with the [prior] *savāla(s)* and *sanada(s)* issued (to him) in his name are received, we think it advisable that [His Majesty] should issue a *sanada* to the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā in its name.”

For this reason, once the payments of the [reimbursement] amounts to the owners of the registered slaves within Pyuthana district are made, you (i.e., the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā) should obtain the ledger relating to the task of paying owners the [reimbursement] amount for their *kariyā* slaves and manumitting the latter, along with other available [records] including legal files (*misila kāgajapatra*), *savāla(s)*, *sanada(s)*, the *ka* forms containing the original list of owners and slaves, and the *kha* and *ga* forms [recording] payments made, and in order for the examination to be carried out, should, in accordance with the *savāla(s)* [and] *sanada(s)*, obtain from the aforementioned Me. Ka. Vīrajaṅga Sāha the *savālas*, *sanadas* and other documents so that they can be submitted to the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā. In order to determine whether the task has been carried out in accordance with the *Ain* and *savāla(s)* and to provide clearance [to him], [I] should be informed through the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā. Upon approval provide [Vīrajaṅga Sāha] with clearance. After the matter of clearance is taken care of, submit the concerned documents to the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā.

Saturday, the 26<sup>th</sup> [solar] day of Pauṣa in the [Vikrama] era year 1982 (1926 CE). Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document is a copy of a royal directive issued to a local Guṭhī Bandobasta office in Pyuthana area regarding manumission. It was written in response to an earlier petition made by the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā recommending the palace to issue separate orders to the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā regarding the manumission process. As the document

136 Perhaps an abbreviation of *mejara kaptāna* (i.e., major captain).

reveals, the Dāsatvamocana Aḍḍā had been granted royal permission to issue orders of its own to offices under it, but apparently in this case it felt for some reason that it needed the extra force provided by a royal order. This document provides the following further information:

- A royal order was issued on the 11<sup>th</sup> solar day of Mārga in VS 1982 which included a list of offices responsible for carrying out the task of manumission throughout Nepal. This list is, however, not included as part of the present document.
- Vīrajaṅga Sāha of the Pālpā Gauḍā frontier was appointed as the in-charge for manumission work in the Pyuthana area.
- The local Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā, having been made responsible for checking the ledger submitted by Vīrajaṅga, is told by the king to send the documents to the Dāsatvamocana Aḍḍā for a backup check.
- The document further directs that the checked ledger and other documents should in the end be forwarded to the Dāsatvamocana Aḍḍā.
- There were apparently three kinds of forms, namely *ka*, *kha* and *ga* forms, used to administer the manumission. The first form contained information regarding the owners and their slaves, while the latter two recorded payments made to the owners.

This document thus provides some insight into administrative steps taken to carry out manumission after Candra Śamśera's speech of 28 November 1924.

### 5.3 A report from Vīrajaṅga Sāha containing a list of 99 slave owners in Pyuthana (K\_0281\_0041)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1983 (1926 CE); Guṭhī Saṁsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Bā. Da. po. 3 and 4; microfilmed as NGMPP K 281/41; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/37662>.

Edition:

[*Ir-part I*]

1 श्री \

1 १५२ नं

[Seal of Vīrajaṅga Sāha]

1 प्यूठाना जील्लाको करीया अमलेष गर्ने कामको अफीसर चौ. मे. क. वीरजङ्ग साहले पा-  
 2 ल्पा ता[न]सेनवाट चढायाको रीपोट ---  
 3 प्यूठाना जील्लाको करीया अमलेषको कागज जाचनालाई षड्ग नीसाना सनद सकल  
 4 र कुन कुन मीतीमा कती कती षर्च भयो भीडाउनालाई वारेससमेत् सो कामको अ-  
 5 वीसर चौ. मे. क. वीरजङ्ग साहलाई पक्री पठाउन लाउनु भन्ने श्री ५ सर्कार गुठी वन्दो-  
 6 वस्तका पुर्जी वमोजी भनि यस पाल्पा गौंडा कौशल अडाले पठाई पक्राउ गरेका-  
 7 लाई अघी दासत्वमोचन अडामार्फत् वक्स भयाको श्री कम्प्यांडर ईन चीफ साहेवको  
 8 वडापत्रमा षड्ग निसाना सनदको नकल र सकलै पठाउन केहि नषुलेकोले नकल  
 9 पठायेको हो । कुन कुन मीतीमा कती कती षर्च भयेको छ भीडाउनालाई भन्नेमा कां  
 10 तामेल भै षड्ग नीसाना सनदका २२ दफा वमोजी तयार भयाको ठाडो वासील वाकी  
 11 र (ख.) (ग.) फारामसमेतवाट मीती मीतीको षर्च भीडान हुने समेत जील्ला प्यूठानै-  
 12 वाट दासत्वमोचन अडामा चलां गरीपठायेको माथी लेषीया वमोजीका कागज-  
 13 वाट देषीने सो कागजहरूसमेत् दासत्वमोचन अडाले तेस अडामा दाषील गरीसके-  
 14 को मैले आहावाट षड्ग नीसानाका ३४ दफा वमोजी तयार गरीपठायेको तेस अडामा  
 15 दाषेल भयेको वासलात षर्च भयेको जती छ दासत्वमोचन सस्थालाई निकास  
 16 भयेका रुपैजावाट भर्ना मीलाउनालाई षर्च भयेको फाट् देखिने मात्र हो । सो ३४  
 17 दफा हेरेमा यथार्थ हुनेछ । वारेसको हक्मा कागजपत्रहरू बुझाउन वारेस पठाउनु  
 18 भन्ने षड्ग निसाना सनदमा लेषीयेको नदेषीयेको हुनाले र सो कामलाई छुट्टै कारी-  
 19 दारसमेतको निक्सारी नभयेकोले मेरो घरघरानावाट घरानावाट वारेसको कर लायूप-  
 20 नै होईन । सो कामलाई यस पाल्पाको पल्टंवाट ममात्र षटी गै कारींदा मद्दत् सो-  
 21 ही प्यूठाना अडा अडावाट फोकुवा गरी कां चलायेको हुनाले सो काममा षटी-  
 22 ने प्यू अदालतको वहीदार सनद कुमार र ऐ मालको वहिदार नरनारायन्-  
 23 हरू हुन । निजहरूलाई सोदी निजैहरूवाट जाचनी फर्स्याई फारक पाउने हुं । पठाउ-  
 24 नु पर्ने षड्ग नीसाना सनद सकलै थान १ र चलां गर्नुपर्ने भुलले वाकी रहे-  
 25 को करीयाको धनिले दाषेल गरेको देहाये वमोजीको परंभत्ता थान ९९ स्मे-  
 26 त् थान १०० यसै साथ पठायेको छ । दाषेल भयेपछी पत्र पठाउने कां भये वेस् हो-  
 27 ला । ---

[1r-part2]

28 तप्सील

- १ नं प्यूठाना वीजुलीको मु. कृष्ण वाहादुर थापा छेत्री को ७९ साल मार्ग  
 ७ गते १ को परंभत्त थान् ---१  
 २ नं ऐ वीर्ता उदैपुर वस्ने दामोदर पाध्याको ७८ साल फागुं १२ गते २ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३ ऐ उपल्लो रसपुर वस्ने लालवाहादुर षतृको ८१ साल पौष २ गते ३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४ ऐ वरौला धादरेषर्क वस्ने हीरासीं छेत्रको ७८।१२।३।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५ ऐ वीर्ता रसपुर वस्ने बोल वाहादुर षतृ छेत्रको ७६।९।८।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६ ऐ पैरा वस्ने तारानीधी पाध्यास्मेतको ७६।१०।१।१।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७ ऐ हंसपुर वस्ने चक्रपाणी पाध्याको ७१।१।२।४।२ को ऐ ---१

- नं ८ ऐ मदनपुर वस्त्रे गोकुल जैसीको ७६।१।२८।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९ ऐ भीमरी ऐ वस्त्रे गोकुल जैसी को ६७ सालको ऐ ---१  
 नं १० ऐ पुं वस्त्रे मीन वाहादुर पाध्याको को ७८।१।०।३।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ११ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे धर्म वाहादुर पाध्याको ७१।४।१९।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १२ ऐ लुङ वस्त्रे मु तेज वाहादुर षतुको ७५।९।२३।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १३ ऐ वीर्ता वस्त्रे करवीर घर्ती मगरको ७८।९।२७।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १४ ऐ मरङथाना वस्त्रे डी कर्न सीं वोहराको ५४ साल मार्ग वदी ७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १५ ऐ तोरवां वस्त्रे ज्मादार धनराज गीरीको ५३ साल माघ वदी ६ रोज २ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १६ ऐ तुसारा वस्त्रे मु• चीत्र वाहादुर घर्तीको ७५।२।२५।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १७ ऐ सीकोट वस्त्रे रुद्र वहादुर षडकाको ८०।१।३।१।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १८ ऐ पैरा वस्त्रे तारानीधी उपाध्याको ७९।९।१।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं १९ ऐ लीघा वस्त्रे मर्जे घर्ति मगरको ७२।१।२४।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २० ई[?] कोट वस्त्रे बुद्धीधर भुसालको ७६।१।०।२७।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २१ प्यू वीर्ता छुर्माफाडा वस्त्रे नरजं पुंको ७६।३।३।०।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २२ प्यू भीत्रीकोट वस्त्रे श्री पहल्लमान षडकाको ६१।९।१।१।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २३ ऐ [?] धरंपानी वस्त्रे गंजसां घर्ति छेत्रीको ७६।८।१।२।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २४ [?] गजल वस्त्रे मोतीराम पाध्याको ७४।८।२७।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २५ [?] लीघागाउ वस्त्रे मु भीमसेन घर्ति मगरको ७४।२।१५।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २६ [?] अर्जुन वस्त्रे चन्द्र वाहादुर थापा छेत्रीको ७०।१।१।०।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २७ [?] नवीकोट वस्त्रे चेतमान सीं घर्ति छेत्रीको ८०।५।१।२।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं २८ [?] ऐ वस्त्रे जंग वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रीको ऐ ---१  
 नं २९ [?] र्या माकावां वस्त्रे मु तेजमानको ७४।८।१।२। को ऐ ---१

[1r-part3]

- नं ३० [?] वादीकोट वस्त्रे ददीराम जैसीको ७८।४।१।६।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३१ प्यू पैरा [व]स्त्रे गुरुप्रसाद पाध्याको ७१।१।१।९।७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३२ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे भीमलाल पाध्याको ६६।४।३।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३३ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे धर्मराज गीरीको ७७।१।१।२४।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३४ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे निलकंठ जैसीको ७७।१।१।२।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३५ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे वं वाहादुर वस्त्रेत्को तोक् नं ६९२ को १९[...].७७।१।१।१।१।१ को [?] पत्र नकल ---१  
 नं ३६ प्यू पैरा वस्त्रे ठाकुरप्रसाद पाध्याको ८०।१।१।३।०।१ को परंभाता ---१  
 नं ३७ ऐ तुसारा वस्त्रे ईन्द्रा छेत्र्यानिको ७८।६।१।५।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३८ ऐ लूं वस्त्रे लछुमन थापा छेत्रीको ६५।१।१।२४।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ३९ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे दल वाहादुर षतु छेत्रीको ७७।१।२।३।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४० ऐ दाषा वस्त्रे हरिप्रसाद पाध्याको ७९।४।२।६।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४१ ऐ भित्रीकोट वस्त्रे नन्दराज पाध्याको ७९।४।१।७।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४२ ऐ दाषा वस्त्रे घनस्याम पाध्याको ७०।१।२।९।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४३ ऐ वेलघारी वस्त्रे दीर्घ वाहादुर षतुको ७६।६।२।८।२ को ऐ ---१

- नं ४४ ऐ लूं वस्त्रे जीं भीम् वाहादुर षतुको ७९।७। ऐ ---१  
 नं ४५ ऐ लुङ् वस्त्रे भीमराज भडारीको ६५।३।२७।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४६ ऐ नारीकोट् वस्त्रे लछुमन् गीरीको ७६।१२।१।१।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४७ ऐ वाडीकोट् वस्त्रे बुद्धीरामको ७५।१०।२२।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४८ ऐ तुसारा वस्त्रे गुमान सीं मदगराको ६९।१०।७।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ४९ धुर्कोट् वाङ्लाको मीलाप गीरीको ६८।८।२।८।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५० प्यु तुसारा वस्त्रे धनु पाध्येको ६४।३।३।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५१ ऐ वाडीकोट वस्त्रे उमानन्द पाध्याको ७७।१२।१।६।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५२ ऐ तुसारा वस्त्रे गनेस वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रीको ७२।१।१।४।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५३ ऐ वाडीकोट वस्त्रे धनीराम जैसिको ७७।८।१।८।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५४ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे उमानन्द पाध्याको ७८।४।१।०।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५५ ऐ लूं दोमाई को चीत्र वाहादुर षतुको ७३।४।२।६।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५६ पर्वत पुजा वस्त्रे मित्रु पाध्याको ७८।१।१।२।५।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५७ प्यु वीर्ता उदैपुर वस्त्रे {...}यज्ञ लाल उपाध्याको ७८।८।२।०।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५८ ऐ रेकर घुमरि वस्त्रे हीमानन्द पाध्याको ७८।९।२।०।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ५९ ऐ घुमरी चौरको मु हीतानन्द पाध्याको ७१।९।१।१।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६० धुर्कोट् डाडाचोक वस्त्रे दीपनारान् पाध्याको ७३।६।१।३।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६१ प्यु वाडीकोट् वस्त्रे नारान दान पाध्या को ७७।३।३।०।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६२ ऐ ऐ वषवोट् वस्त्रे उजीर सीं घर्ती छेत्रीको ७९।६।२।३।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६३ ऐ पैरा धरंपानि वस्त्रे जमादार वीर् वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्री ६६।२।३।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६४ ऐ पैरा वस्त्रे वाहादुर घर्ति छेत्रीको ७७।४।२।३।६ को ऐ ---१

[1r-part4]

- नं ६५ ऐ दाषा कुवाडी वस्त्रे टकेस्वर पाध्याको ७८।१०।२९।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६६ ऐ पैरा वस्त्रे धनेस्वर वैदको ६६।१०।२४।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६७ ऐ वीजुली वस्त्रे दल वाहादुर नेवारको ७७।१२।२९।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ६८ ऐ पैरा वस्त्रे होमलाल पाध्याको परंभाता ---१  
 नं ६९ अर्घा हंसपुर वस्त्रे टीकाराम पाध्याको ७७।१२।८।७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७० प्यु वीर्ता वर्वोट् वस्त्रे धर्मे पाध्याको ७८।१।१।१।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७१ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे मनीराम पाध्याको ७८।७।२।८।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७२ अर्घा षीलजी वस्त्रे जीं भीम् वाहादुर षतुको ७९।८।१।२।७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७३ प्यु नारीकोट वस्त्रे मनवीर जोगीकवरके ७२।१।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७४ पर्वत पुजा वस्त्रे डी मनवीर घर्ति छेत्रीको ७४।६।१।५।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७५ प्यु पुंत्री वस्त्रे भीमलाल घर्तिको ७१।१।१।३।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७६ ऐ दुनीरुर्भा वस्त्रे कृपाराम पाडेको ७६।६।३।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७७ धुर्कोट् वाङ्ला वस्त्रे मनिलाल गीरीको ७४।२।१।९।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७८ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे राधु पाधेको ७४।२।१।९।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ७९ प्यु नारीकोट् वस्त्रे लछिमन पुरीको ७०।१२।९।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८० ऐ लुहुङ् वस्त्रे सीधी मान षतुको ८०।३।२।६।३ को ऐ ---१

- नं ८१ ऐ भीत्रीकोट वस्त्रे उमाकान्ता उपाध्यानिको ७९।१०।३।३ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८२ ऐ वीर्ता कारकीडाडा वस्त्रे मु• वाहादुर कार्कीको ७५।११।२४।७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८३ ऐ भीत्रीकोट वस्त्रे ईन्द्र वाहादुर षडका छेत्रीको ७९।३।२२। को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८४ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे उमाकान्त पाध्यानीको ७८।६।७।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८५ ऐ वागडुला वस्त्रे प जीवराज पाध्याको ७८।९।१४।४ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८६ ऐ वीजुली वस्त्रे हेमलाल पाडे जैसीको ७८।१२।१४।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८७ ऐ वीर्ता उदैपुर वस्त्रे धनेसोर पाध्याको ८१।२।२५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८८ ऐ वाडीकोटको उजीर सीं घर्ती छेत्रीको ७६।१०।४।७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ८९ धुर्कोट टीमुरषर्क वस्त्रे षदपु षतृको ७६।४।१५।७ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९० ऐ वाङ्ला वस्त्रे उदै गीरीको ७९।५।१५।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९१ प्यू माइकोट वस्त्रे षगेस्वर पाध्याको ७६।८।२७।२ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९२ ऐ ऐ वस्त्रे षगेस्वर पाध्याको ७६।१०।२।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९३ ऐ वीजुली वस्त्रे कृष्णप्रसाद अचार्ज जैसीको ७७।११।२८।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९४ ऐ धुवागाउ वस्त्रे मु हेडसीं रोकाहाको ७८।१०।१०।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९५ अर्घा षीलजी वस्त्रे जगवीर वस्त्रे छेत्रीको ८१।६।३।५ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९६ प्यू वरौलाको वीर् वाहादुर घर्तीको ८१।५।२।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९७ ऐ वीर्ता उदैपुर वस्त्रे वीष्णु उपाध्याको ८१।६।१३।१ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९८ ऐ सभ्रीवाङ् वस्त्रे मु टेक वाहादुरको ७४।१२।६।६ को ऐ ---१  
 नं ९९ ऐ वीजुली वस्त्रे भक्त वाहादुर थापा छेतृको ८१।१।२७।६ को ऐ ---१  
 130 ईती सम्वत् १९८३ साल जेष्ठ १७ गते रोज १ शु ।

Translation:

[*Ir-part I*]

Śrī

No. 152<sup>137</sup>

[Seal of Vīrajaṅga Sāha]

A report submitted by Cau. Me. Ka.<sup>138</sup> Vīrajaṅga Sāha, the officer responsible for the task of manumitting slaves in Pyuthana district, from Tansen, Pālpā.

Following the letter (*purjī*) from the Śrī 5 Sarkāra Guṭhī Bandobasta [Aḍḍā], which stated: “Get hold of Cau. Me. Ka. Vīrajaṅga Sāha, the officer responsible for the task [of manumission], and have him dispatch the original of the *khḍga nisānā sanada* in order [that

137 This is the archival number within the bundle of the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā records.

138 An abbreviation of Cautariyā Mejara Kaptāna.



we can] examine the document relating to the manumission of slaves in Pyuthana district, and also have him dispatch a representative (*vāresa*) in order [that we can] tally the expenditures made and their dates”, this office, the Pālpā Gauḍā Council, dispatched [both the document and representative], [and both] were received. [However,] in the *baḍāpatra* of the venerable Commander-in-Chief sent through the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā earlier, it was not mentioned whether one should dispatch the original itself or a copy of the *khaḍga nisānā sanada*. For this reason, [I] dispatched a copy [instead of the original]. Regarding [the documents required for] matching expenditures and dates, the balances (*thāḍo vāsila bāki*) prepared in accordance with Section 22 of the *khaḍga nisānā sanada*, and the *kha* and *ga* forms with which to collate the dates and expenditures, have [already] been dispatched to the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā by the Pyuthana district [office]. [These and other] documents derived from the aforementioned documents have been submitted (*dākhila*) by the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā to that office (i.e., Śrī 5 Sarkāra Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā). The level of expenditures [in] the balance sheet prepared by me here in accordance with Section 34 of the *khaḍga nisānā [sanada]* and submitted to that office can only be seen [in] the section dealing with expenses involved in arranging compensation [to the slave owners] with the money issued to the Dāsativamocana Aḍḍā. The actual state of affairs will be learned upon looking into said Section 34. Regarding the representative: since it is not found written in the *khaḍga nisānā sanada* that a representative should be sent to submit the documents, and since no separate clerk was granted for the task, there will certainly not be any compulsion [for me] to [appoint] a representative from my own household [at my own expense]. I set off alone from the Pālpā Regiment to engage in the task, and received clerical help from the offices in Pyuthana itself; engaged in the task [from their side] were Bahīdāra Sanada Kumāra of the Pyuthana court and Bahīdāra Naranārāyan of the district revenue office (*māla*). I will get acquittances after making enquiries with the aforementioned persons and conducting [other] investigations. Sent herewith are a total of 100 [documents] including the 1 original *khaḍga nisānā sanada* and 99 *paramabhaṭṭās*—submitted by the slave owners listed below—that by mistake remained unsent. It would be well if a letter could be sent [here] once the documents arrive [there].

[1r-part2]

## Particulars:

No. 1	Belonging to mu. <sup>139</sup> Kṛṣṇa Bāhādura Thāpā Chetrī, [resident] of Bijulī [in] Pyuthana; dated Sunday, the 7 <sup>th</sup> of Mārga in [VS 19]79	<i>parama- bhaṭṭā</i> ---1
No. 2	Belonging to Dāmōdara Pādhyā, resident of Udaipura [in] Pyuthana; dated Monday, the 12 <sup>th</sup> of Phālguna in [VS 19]78	" --- 1
No. 3	Belonging to Lāla Bāhādura Khatrī, resident of Upallo Rasapura [in] Pyuthana; dated Tuesday, the 2 <sup>nd</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]81	" --- 1
No. 4	Belonging to Hirāṣim Chetrī, resident of Baraulā, Dhāīrekharka [in] Pyuthana; dated Friday, the 3 <sup>rd</sup> of Phāguna in [VS 19]78	" --- 1
No. 5	Belonging to Bola Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī, resident of Bīrtā Rasapura [in] Pyuthana; dated Tuesday, the 8 <sup>th</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]76	" --- 1
No. 6	Belonging to Tārānidhi Pādhyā, resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana; dated Sunday, the 11 <sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]76	" --- 1
No. 7	Belonging to Cakrapāṇi Pādhyā, resident of Haṃsapura [in] Pyuthana; dated Monday, the 24 <sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]71	" --- 1
No. 8	Belonging to Gokula Jaisī, resident of Madanapura [in] Pyuthana; dated Monday, the 28 <sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]76	" --- 1
No. 9	Belonging to Gokula Jaisī, resident of Bhīmarī, Madanapura [in] Pyuthana; dated [VS 19]67	" --- 1
No. 10	Belonging to Mīna Bāhādura Pādhyā, resident of Khuṃ [in] Pyuthana; dated Monday, the 3 <sup>rd</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]78	" --- 1
No. 11	Belonging to Dharma Bāhādura Pādhyā, resident of Khuṃ [in] Pyuthana; dated Monday, the 19 <sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]71	" --- 1
No. 12	Belonging to mu. Teja Bāhādura Khatrī, resident of Luṅa [in] Pyuthana; dated Monday, the 23 <sup>rd</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]75	" --- 1

139 Perhaps an abbreviation of *mukhiyā*.

- No. 13 Belonging to Karavīra Ghartī Magara, " --- 1  
resident of Bīrtā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]78
- No. 14 Belonging to dī<sup>140</sup> Karṇa Siṃ Boharā, " --- 1  
resident of Marānthānā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Mārga in [VS 19]54
- No. 15 Belonging to the jmadāraDhanarāja Giri, " --- 1  
resident of Toravāṃ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Māgha  
in [VS 19]53
- No. 16 Belonging to mu.Citra Bāhādura Ghartī, " --- 1  
resident of Tusārā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Thursday, the 25<sup>th</sup> of Jyeṣṭha in [VS 19]75
- No. 17 Belonging to Rudra Bāhādura Khaḍkā, " --- 1  
resident of Sīrkoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 31<sup>st</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]80
- No. 18 Belonging to Tārānidhi Upādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 1<sup>st</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]79
- No. 19 Belonging to Marje Ghartī Magara, " --- 1  
resident of Līghā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Thursday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]72
- No. 20 Belonging to Buddhidhara Bhusāla, " --- 1  
resident of Ī...rkoṭ<sup>141</sup> ;  
dated Friday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]76
- No. 21 Belonging to Narajaṃ Puṃ, " --- 1  
resident of Churmāphāḍā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated to Sunday, the 30<sup>th</sup> of Āṣāḍha in [VS 19]76
- No. 22 Belonging to Pahalmāna Khaḍkā, " --- 1  
resident of Bhitrikoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]61
- No. 23 Belonging to Gaṃjasāṃ Ghartī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of ...<sup>142</sup> Dharampānī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Thursday, the 12<sup>th</sup> of Maṃsira in [VS 19]76
- No. 24 Belonging to Motirāma Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Gajala [in] Pyuthana];  
dated Wednesday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Maṃsira in [VS 19]74

140 Perhaps an abbreviation of *ditṭhā*.

141 There are illegible letters in the original.

142 There are illegible letters in the original.

- No. 25 Belonging to mu.Bhīmasena Ghartī Magara, " --- 1  
resident of Līghā Gāū [in Pyuthana];  
dated Monday, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Jyeṣṭha in [VS 19]74
- No. 26 Belonging to Candra Bāhādura Thāpā Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of ...arjuna<sup>143</sup>;  
dated Sunday, the 10<sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]70
- No. 27 Belonging to Cetamāna Siṃ Ghartī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of ...na[ivī]koṭ<sup>144</sup>;  
dated Tuesday, the 12<sup>th</sup> of Bhādra in [VS 19]80
- No. 28 Belonging to Jaṅga Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of the same
- No. 29 Belonging to mu. Tejamāna, " --- 1  
resident of ...ryā<sup>145</sup> Mākāvām<sup>146</sup>;  
dated the 12<sup>th</sup> of Maṅsira in [VS 19]74
- [*Ir-part3*]
- No. 30 Belonging to Dadīrāma Jaisī, " --- 1  
resident of Vādikoṭ; dated Sunday,  
the 16<sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]78
- No. 31 Belonging to Guruprasāda Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Saturday, the 9<sup>th</sup> of Phālguna in [VS 19]71
- No. 32 Belonging to Bhīma Lāla Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Tuesday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]66
- No. 33 Belonging to Dharmarāja Giri, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Monday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Phālguna in [VS 19]77
- No. 34 Belonging to Nīlakaṅṭha Jaisī, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Sunday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Phālguna in [VS 19]77
- No. 35 Belonging to Baṃ Bāhādura Basneta, Copy of  
resident of the same; of toka number 692; ...*patra*<sup>147</sup> --- 1  
dated Sunday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of Phālguna in [VS] 1977
- No. 36 Belonging to Ṭhākurasasāda Pādhyā, *parama-*  
resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana; *bhaṭṭā* --- 1  
dated Sunday, the 30<sup>th</sup> of Phālguna in [VS 19]80

143 There are illegible letters in the original.

144 There are illegible letters in the original.

145 There are illegible letters in the original.

146 The reading is unclear in the original.

147 There are illegible letters in the original.

- No. 37 Belonging to Īndrā Chetryānī, " --- 1  
resident of Tusārā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Thursday, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]78
- No. 38 Belonging to Lachumana Thāpā Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Lūṃ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Phālguna in [VS 19]65
- No. 39 Belonging to Dala Bāhādura Khatrī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Wednesday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]77
- No. 40 Belonging to Hariprasāda Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Dākhā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]79
- No. 41 Belonging to Nandarāja Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Bhitrikot [in] Pyuthana;  
dated to Tuesday, the 17<sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]79
- No. 42 Belonging to Ghanaśyāma Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Dākhā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]70
- No. 43 Belonging to Dīrtha Bāhādura Khatrī, " --- 1  
resident of Belaghārī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 28<sup>th</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]76
- No. 44 Belonging to Bhīm Bāhādura Khatrī, " --- 1  
resident of Lūṃ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Kārtika in [VS 19]79
- No. 45 Belonging to Bhīmarāja Bhaṇḍārī, " --- 1  
resident of Luṅ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Āśāḍha in [VS 19]65
- No. 46 Belonging to Lachuman Giri, " --- 1  
resident of Nārīkot [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Tuesday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]76
- No. 47 Belonging to Buddhirāma, " --- 1  
resident of Bādīkot [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Tuesday, the 22<sup>nd</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]75
- No. 48 Belonging to Gumāna Siṃ Madagarā, " --- 1  
resident of Tusārā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 7<sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]69
- No. 49 Belonging to Milāpa Giri, " --- 1  
resident of Bānlā [in] Dhurkot;  
dated Wednesday, the 28<sup>th</sup> of Maṅsira in [VS 19]68
- No. 50 Belonging to Dhanu Pādhye, " --- 1  
resident of Tusārā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated in Monday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Āśāḍha in [VS 19]64

- No. 51 Belonging to Umānanda Pādhyā,  
resident of Bādikoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 16<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]77 " --- 1
- No. 52 Belonging to Ganesa Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī,  
resident of Tusārā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Thursday, the 4<sup>th</sup> of Phāguna in [VS 19]72 " --- 1
- No. 53 Belonging to Dhanirāma Jaisī,  
resident of Bādikoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 18<sup>th</sup> of Maṅsira in [VS 19]77 " --- 1
- No. 54 Belonging to Umānanda Pādhyā,  
resident of the same;  
dated Monday, the 10<sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]78 " --- 1
- No. 55 Belonging to Citra Bāhādura Khatrī,  
resident of Luṃ Domāi [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]73 " --- 1
- No. 56 Belonging to Mitru Pādhyā,  
resident of Pujā [in] Parvata;  
dated Wednesday, the 25<sup>th</sup> of Phāguna in [VS 19]78 " --- 1
- No. 57 Belonging to Yajña Lāla Upādhyā,  
resident of Birtā Udaipura [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 20<sup>th</sup> of Maṅsira in [VS 19]78 " --- 1
- No. 58 Belonging to Himānanda Pādhyā,  
resident of Rekara Khumari [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Tuesday, the 20<sup>th</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]78 " --- 1
- No. 59 Belonging to mu.Hitānanda Pādhyā,  
resident of Khumari Caura [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]71 " --- 1
- No. 60 Belonging to Dīpanārān Pādhyā,  
resident of Dāḍācoka [in] Dhurkoṭ;  
dated Monday, the 13<sup>th</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]73 " --- 1
- No. 61 Belonging to Nārāna Dāna Pādhyā,  
resident of Bādikoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Tuesday, the 30<sup>th</sup> of Āṣāḍha in [VS 19]77 " --- 1
- No. 62 Belonging to Ujīra Siṃ Ghartī Chetrī,  
resident of Okharboṭ, Bādikoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]79 " --- 1
- No. 63 Belonging to jamādāraVīr Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī,  
resident of Dharampāni, Khairā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Jyeṣṭha in [VS 19]66 " --- 1

[*Ir-part4*]

- No. 64 Belonging to Bāhādura Ghartī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]77
- No. 65 Belonging to Ṭaṃkeśvara Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Dākḥā Kuvāḍī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Wednesday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]78
- No. 66 Belonging to Dhaneśvara Vaida, " --- 1  
resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]66
- No. 67 Belonging to Dala Bāhādura Nevāra, " --- 1  
resident of Bijulī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 29<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]77
- No. 68 Belonging to Homa Lāla Pādhyā, *parama-*  
resident of Khairā [in] Pyuthana *bhaṭṭā* --- 1
- No. 69 Belonging to Ṭikārāma Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Haṃsapura [in] Arghā;  
dated Saturday, the 8<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]77
- No. 70 Belonging to Dharme Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Bīrtā Varboṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Wednesday, the 11<sup>th</sup> of Phāguna in [VS 19]78
- No. 71 Belonging to Manīrāma Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Monday, the 28<sup>th</sup> of Kārtika in [VS 19]78
- No. 72 Belonging to jīm.Bhīm Bāhādura Khatrī, " --- 1  
resident of Khīlajī [in] Arghā;  
dated Saturday, the 12<sup>th</sup> of Maṃsira in [VS 19]79
- No. 73 Belonging to Manavīra Jogīkavara, " --- 1  
resident of Nārīkoṭa [in] Pyuthana;  
dated 2<sup>nd</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]72
- No. 74 Belonging to ḍi.Manavīra Ghartī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Pujā [in] Parvata;  
dated Sunday, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]74
- No. 75 Belonging to Bhīma Lāla Ghartī, " --- 1  
resident of Khuṃbrī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Wednesday, the 13<sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]71
- No. 76 Belonging to Kṛpārāma Pāḍe, " --- 1  
resident of Dunīrurbhā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]76
- No. 77 Belonging to Mani Lāla Giri, " --- 1  
resident of Vāñlā [in] Dhurkoṭ;  
dated Friday, the 19<sup>th</sup> of Jyeṣṭha in [VS 19]74

- No. 78 Belonging to Rādhu Pādhe, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Friday, the 19<sup>th</sup> of Jyeṣṭha in [VS 19]74
- No. 79 Belonging to Lachimana Purī, " --- 1  
resident of Nārīkoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 9<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]70
- No. 80 Belonging to Sidhi Māna Khatrī, " --- 1  
resident of Luhuṅ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Tuesday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of Āṣāḍha in [VS 19]80
- No. 81 Belonging to Umākāntā Upādhyānī, " --- 1  
resident of Bhitrīkoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Tuesday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]79
- No. 82 Belonging to mu.Bāhādura Kārki, " --- 1  
resident of Kārkiḍḍā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Saturday, the 24<sup>th</sup> of Phāguna in [VS 19]75
- No. 83 Belonging to Īndra Bāhādura Khaḍkā Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Bhitrīkoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated 22<sup>nd</sup> of Āṣāḍha in [VS 19]79
- No. 84 Belonging to Umākāntā Pādhyānī, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Thursday, the 7<sup>th</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]78
- No. 85 Belonging to Jivarāja Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Vāgaḍulā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Wednesday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of Pauṣa in [VS 19]78
- No. 86 Belonging to Hema Lāla Pāde Jaisī, " --- 1  
resident of Bijulī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 14<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]78
- No. 87 Belonging to Dhanesora Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Bīrtā Udaipura [in] Pyuthana;  
dated the 25<sup>th</sup> of Jyeṣṭha in [VS 19]81
- No. 88 Belonging to Ujīra Siṃ Ghartī Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Bādīkoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Saturday, the 4<sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]76
- No. 89 Belonging to Khadapu Khatrī, " --- 1  
resident of Tīmurakharka [in] Dhurkoṭ; dated Saturday,  
the 15<sup>th</sup> of Śrāvaṇa in [VS 19]76
- No. 90 Belonging to Udai Giri, " --- 1  
resident of Vāñlā [in] Dhurkoṭ;  
dated Thursday, the 15<sup>th</sup> of Bhādra in [VS 19]79
- No. 91 Belonging to Khageśvara Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Māikoṭ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Monday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Maṅsira in [VS 19]76



- No. 92 Belonging to Khageśvara Pādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of the same;  
dated Sunday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]76
- No. 93 Belonging to Kṛṣṇaprasāda Acārja Jaisī, " --- 1  
resident of Bijulī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 28<sup>th</sup> of Phāguna in [VS 19]77
- No. 94 Belonging to mu. Heḍa<sup>148</sup> Siṃ Rokāhā, " --- 1  
resident of Dhuvā Gāū [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 10<sup>th</sup> of Māgha in [VS 19]78
- No. 95 Belonging to Jagavīra Basneta Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Khīlajī [in] Arghā;  
dated Thursday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]81
- No. 96 Belonging to Vīr Bāhādura Ghartī, " --- 1  
resident of Baraulā [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Bhādra in [VS 19]81
- No. 97 Belonging to Viṣṇu Upādhyā, " --- 1  
resident of Bīrtā Udaipur [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Sunday, the 13<sup>th</sup> of Āśvina in [VS 19]81
- No. 98 Belonging to Ṭeka Bāhādura, " --- 1  
resident of Sabhivāñ [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 6<sup>th</sup> of Caitra in [VS 19]74
- No. 99 Belonging to Bhakta Bāhādura Thāpā Chetrī, " --- 1  
resident of Bijulī [in] Pyuthana;  
dated Friday, the 27<sup>th</sup> of Vaiśākha in [VS 19]81

Sunday, the 17<sup>th</sup> of Jeṣṭha, in the [Vikrama] era year 1983 (1926 CE).  
Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document is a report submitted by Vīrajaṅga Sāha, who held the post of major captain in the Pālpā frontier. Being a member of the ruling Sāha family, he also held the title of *cautariyā*. He was appointed to be in charge of manumission work in the Pyuthana area in VS 1982 (see Document 5.2).

The document is a response to an earlier letter sent to the Pālpā Gauḍā by the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā asking Vīrajaṅga to return the documents containing executive order (*khaḍga nisānā sanada*) together with related documents and a representative. From the document, it is clear that the executive order consisted of at least 34 sections, and that

148 The reading is unclear in the original.

its 22<sup>nd</sup> section contained instructions on preparing the balances, while the 34<sup>th</sup> section set forth budgetary guidelines. The document also states that it attaches the original copy of the *khaḍga nisānā sanada* and ninety-nine *paramabhāṭṭās* collected from slave owners. These *paramabhāṭṭās* can be found in the archives within the document series K\_0281\_0042 to K\_0281\_0060 and K\_0282\_0001 to K\_0282\_0060.

The *paramabhāṭṭās* listed in the document were prepared between VS 1953 (1896 CE) and 1981 (1924 CE). The majority of them, 81 out of 99, were prepared between 1914 and 1924.

Regarding the social group of the slave owners in the 99 *paramabhāṭṭās* listed, the majority of them are of Brahmin or Kṣatriya castes. The following is a table of social status of the slave owners:

Caste Names	Number of <i>paramabhāṭṭās</i>
Brahmin	44
Kṣatriya	24
Gharī Chetrī	9
ascetics	8
Ghartī Magara	3
Ghartī	3
Newar	1
Pun	1
unspecified	6

#### 5.4 A report from Vīrajaṅga Sāha correcting a statistic in manumission figures for Pyuthana (K\_0188\_0057)

Edited by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1983 (1927 CE); Guṭhī Saṁsthāna, Bhadrakālī, Dāsavamocana Aḍḍā, Po. 5 Ga. Gu. Bam.; microfilmed as NGMPPK 188/57; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/39592>.

Edition:

[*Ir-part I*]

[Seal of Pālpā Gauḍā]

[Seal of Vīrajaṅga Sāha]

[Unknown seal]

- 1 पाल्पा तान्सेनवाट प्युठाना जिल्लाको करिया अमलेष कांको अफीसर चौ मे क वीरजङ्ग साहा-
- 2 ले जाहेर गर्‍याको रीपोट ---
- 3 श्री ५ सर्कार गुठी बंदोवस्तवाट ८३ साल मार्ग वे गतेका पुर्जि वमोजीम् प्युठाना जिल्लाको
- 4 करिया अमलेष गर्ने कामको वासील वाकी जाचदा नीसकेको वेरुजुमा रकमी बुझीआ-
- 5 येको उजुरि रीपोट वमोजीं उजुर बुझी फछर्गोट गर्ने काम वाकी भनि सावीकले बुझायाको-
- 6 ले बुझदा भगुवा मरुवा वीना दामले छुटेकोस्मेत् ज्मा करिया जवान १२९ को मोल नगया-
- 7 को भंन्ये ष फारांवाट देषीयाको भयापछी लगत वमोजींको करिया जवान १५७४ म-
- 8 ध्ये मोल नगयेको करिया जवां १२९ कट्टी गरी वाकी जवां १४४५ को मात्र मोल ष-
- 9 र्च लेषनु पर्नेमा जवान १४४६ को मोल षर्च लेषेको देषीयाकाले लगत मध्य
- 10 वढी जवान १ को मोल षर्च लेषेको देषीयाकोले षर्च वढी देषीयाको जवान १ को
- 11 मोल सवैभंदा वढी दरले वीगो रू १२० र वढी बुझेका १२ नं ऐन वमोजीं रू १२० स्मे-
- 12 त ज्मा मोरू २४० रुपैया लीन र सनद वमोजीं नीज बुझनुपर्दा लेषने कां भये-
- 13 को छ । तसर्थ सो माथी लेषीया वमोजीं आफ्नु नीस्सा प्रमाणस्मेत राषी रीपो-
- 14 ट लेखी यस अडामा १ दीन भीत्र दाषील गर्न आउने कां गर । ढीलासुस्ती भयो
- 15 भने ऐन वमोजीम् हुनेछ भंन्ये ८३ साल मार्ग २८ गतेमा पाल्पा गौडा कौसलवा-
- 16 ट मेरा नाउमा पुर्जि लेषीदीयाका सो पुर्जिको म्याद भीत्र उजुर दाषील ग-
- 17 र्ना लाई प्युठानाको काममा पनि कारींदा सोही प्युठानाकै भयको म मा-
- 18 त्र यस कामको अफीसर हुनाले कामको नकल कागजहरू नीजै कारींदाहरू जी-
- 19 म्मा प्युठानामा रहेको झीकाई सो कागज आयापछी भनेको वेहोराको रीपो-
- 20 ट गर्नेछु । सो वेहोराको ८२ साल पौष गतेमा मैले रपोट दी झीकाई सो प्यु-
- 21 ठानावाट आयेको नकल कागजहरूमा हेर्दा लगत वमोजींको करिया ज-
- 22 वान १५७४ मध्ये तपसीलमा फाट्मा लेषीया वमोजीम मोल नगयाको
- 23 कमारी जना ६५ कमारा ६३ ज्मा जवान १२८ श्रेस्तावाट देषीयाकोले जवा-
- 24 न १४४६ लाई षुद मोल दीलाउनु पर्नेलाई मोल दीलाईदीयाको मीलेकै न-
- 25 मीले नदेषीयाको र सो पुर्जिमा मोल नगयाको करिया ज्मा जवान १२९ ले-
- 26 षीयाको ष फारांमा ज्मा गर्दा कारींदाले भुल गरेको वा सावीकले बुझाउदा-
- 27 को भुल हो । सो भुलले मात्र १ जना वीरी ज्मा वढी लेषीन गै सो मोल नगयाको
- 28 जना १२९ लेषी आयाको १ जना भुलैले सो मोल नगयाको तर्फको ज्मा
- 29 वढी भयाको कट्टी गर्दा मोल नगयाको करिया जना १२८ मोल गयाको
- 30 जना १४४६ दुवै ज्मा १५७४ लगत वमोजीं मीलेको मोल नगयाको जना
- 31 १२८ मात्र ठहर्ने भै जना १२९ लेषेको १ जना सो रकंमा वढी ज्मामा १ ज-
- 32 ना भुल भयाकै मात्र देषीन आयाकोले षास ष फारांमा धनी करिया
- 33 तालुकदार सरजमीनका भलादमी साछीस्मेत्को इत्यादी प्रमाण पुगी
- 34 लगतै मधेका जना १४४६ लाई मोल गयाको र मोल नगयाको तपसील-
- 35 मा फाट् लेषीया वमोजीम करिया जना १२८ ठहर्नेमा माथी लेषीयाव-
- 36 मोजीम भुलैले वीराई १ जना वढी गरी ज्मा मात्र १२९ लेषीयाको १ जना
- 36 ज्मा वीरीयाको धुल्याई जना १२८ कायेम हुने सो पुर्जिका जना १२९ न

- 38 ठहरी श्रेस्ता कचावाट १२८ जना ठहर्ने भयापछी मोल गयातर्फ १४४६  
39 त्यै मोल गयाको कायेम ठहर्ने हुदा भुलले १ जना मोल नगयातर्फ जमा

[Ir-part2]

- 40 वढी लेषीन गयाको मात्र मोल नगयाको जमा १२९ भयाकोमा लेषीया  
41 वमोजीम भुलले १ जना मोल नगयाको वाहेक मोल नगयाको जना १२८  
42 कायेम गरी सो पक्राउ गरेको वढी दरको वीगो मोरू १२० वीगा वमोजीम  
43 दंड मोरू १२० लागत तीर्न नपर्ने हुदा मोल नगयाको कायेमी जना १२८ को  
44 फाट तपसीलमा लेषी उजरातको रीपोट जाहेर गरेको छु । यस्मा पक्रा-  
45 उ द्वाडी फारष गराईदीनु भन्त्या मजकर गुठी वंदोवस्तका नाउमा य-  
46 सै रीपोट सदर गरी पाउ । ---  
47 तपसील
- | असामी ---   | कमारी           | कमारा           | जमा      |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|----------|
| मोल नमीलने गरी राय लीने धनी करीया-<br>को लगत् क फारांमा मोल कट्टी नभये-<br>को हाल बुझी कट्टी गरेको ---                            | ५ ---           | २ ---           | ७        |
| हाल धनीतर्फवाट तेसै अमलेष गरी-<br>दीयेको ---  | ६ ---           | २ ---           | ८        |
| मरुवा ---   | ४२ ---          | ३२ ---          | ७४       |
| भगुवा ---   | ८ ---           | २२ ---          | ३०       |
| करीया आफै नीषनीयाको लगत वा-<br>ला धनीको हक नपुग्ने र हक पुग्ने धनी<br>मरी अपुताली परेको सर्कार लागने<br>भै तेसै अमलेष भगुवाको --- | ४ ---<br>६५ --- | ५ ---<br>६३ --- | ९<br>१२८ |
- 61 इति सम्बत् १९८३ साल पौष २० गते रोज २ शुभं ।

[Unknown seal]

[Seal of Vīrajaṅga Sāha]

Synopsis:

This document, dated Monday, the 20<sup>th</sup> solar day of Pauṣa in VS 1983 (1927 CE), is a report issued by Vīrajaṅga Sāha of Pālpā Gauḍā. It is written in reply to a letter sent earlier on the 28<sup>th</sup> of Mārga in VS 1883 by the Pālpā Gauḍā Council regarding a discrepancy in the figures relating to the manumission work carried out in Pyuthana district under the oversight of the local Śrī 5 Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā. The order stated that a total of 1,574 slaves were emancipated in that district. Of this, a reimbursement amount for 1,445 slaves were paid to

their owners. The document states that the reimbursement rate was a maximum of 120 rupees per slave.

The Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā had found a discrepancy in the accounting and that there was an overpayment for one slave. Consequently, the Guṭhī Bandobasta Aḍḍā, through an earlier document, had asked Vīrajaṅga Sāha to pay an amount of 240 rupees, consisting of 120 rupees as the maximum reimbursement amount for a slave and the same amount as a fine. Vīrajaṅga, after investigating the documentation relating to his manumission work, reports in this document that the number of slaves for whom no reimbursement amount was paid was actually 128, which was written mistakenly as 129. He thus argues that the total number of reimbursed slaves was correctly written in the ledger as 1,446, and asks that clearance be granted.

This document also provides a breakdown of the 128 slaves for whom no reimbursement amounts were paid. They consist of 7 slaves whose prices were determined incorrectly and therefore excluded from payment, 8 slaves freed by the owners themselves, 74 dead slaves, 30 runaway slaves, and 9 slaves who either had bought their own freedom and so were no longer the property of their former owners or who were automatically freed by the government when their owners died without heir.

#### Commentary:

It is apparent that a list of registered slaves in the district of Pyuthana was prepared in VS 1880 (see K\_0188\_0053, K\_0188\_0054 and K\_0188\_0060).

## 6. Correspondences between Nepalese Palace and British Government regarding Slavery Abolition

The documents (6.1 to 6.10) in this section are found in a bound book (PCRIND\_0008) which contains copies of several documents, mostly correspondences by and to Candra Śamśera who ruled as the prime minister of Nepal from 1901 to 1929. The first 130 pages of the book contains documents relating to the slavery abolition by the prime minister.

### 6.1 A letter from Candra Śamśera to H. J. Wilkinson regarding the establishment of compensation funds for the abolition of slavery (PCRIND\_0008\_0001)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1924 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 1; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0001; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42855>.

Edition:

1 [page-1]

1 On Slavery

2 Emancipation of slavery - Abolition of slavery

1 Nepal 20<sup>th</sup> July 1924

1 My dear Mr. Wilkinson,

2 In order to meet the annual recurrent expenditure

3 of the newly erected the Great War Memorial Tri Chandra Charitable

4 Hospital as also to provide a fund the income of which is to be

5 applied in compensating owners for emancipated slaves till such

6 time as the whole fund may have to be withdrawn to meet compensation

7 on the general liberation of slaves it is intended to denote seven

8 lakhs of rupees for the former and eleven lakhs for the latter fund.

9 The first fund will be named Great War Memorial Tri Chandra

10 Hospital fund and the second the Slave Emancipation Fund.

11 These amounts are proposed to be invested in the Government of  
 12 India G.P. Notes or Loans and on completion of the investment  
 13 to convert the securities into stock certificates to be held in the  
 14 joint names of Trustees to be appointed in their official capa-  
 15 cities. I request your kind help to put the matter through in  
 16 the same way and on the same lines as in the two other trust  
 17 funds viz. the Shivaratri pilgrims help fund and Aurvedic<sup>149</sup>  
 18 Education Fund as arranged in 1921–1922 through the then British  
 19 envoys here. If you please refer to the correspondence on the  
 20 subject you will find that: --  
 21 1. The Trustees are to hold the fund ex officio so that any  
 22 change in the personal will not necessitate re-endorsement{...}  
 23 and thus not interfere with the rellivation<sup>150</sup> of the interest.  
 25 and the proper administration of the funds.  
 25 2. The interests due are to be payable six monthly at the  
 26 Nepal British Legation Treasury, where the interest war-  
 27 rant are to be received by the British Envoy for the time  
 28 being to the Trustees in their official capacities.  
 29 3. As these trust funds are created for a charitable purpose  
 30 the interest income are to be made exempt from income tax  
 31 as in the previous trust referred to.  
 32 I shall be glad and thankful to have the promise  
 33 of your help in the matter, so that I may send the securities  
 34 when received for conversion and necessary action.  
 35 With kind regards yours very sincerely  
 36 श्री Chandra

### Synopsis:

In this letter, Prime Minister Candra Śamsēra writes to the first British envoy to Nepal, Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard, because he wants to establish two trusts: the Great War Memorial Tri Chandra Hospital Fund and the Slave Emancipation Fund for which he provides seven lakh rupees for the first and eleven lakhs for the latter,<sup>151</sup> which are meant to compensate the loss of the slave owners. The letter is written on July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1924, i.e., before the official announcement of the

149 Read: Ayurvedic.

150 Uncertain reading.

151 In later documents the exact sum for the Slave Emancipation Fund becomes 11 lakhs 11,200 Rs.

abolition of slavery which followed on November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1924 Candra asks for Mr. Wilkinson’s help to invest the money in the Government of India G.P. Notes or Loans.<sup>152</sup> According to the letter, such guarantee loans were previously made for the Shivaratri Pilgrimage Help Fund and an Ayurvedic Education Fund. For the technicalities, Candra refers to the correspondence on these instances.

**Commentary:**

This document is part of the correspondence between Candra Śamṣera and Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard, regarding the establishment of a Slave Emancipation Trust Fund. Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard was the British envoy to Nepal, appointed during 1924–31. He wrote an article in the *Asiatic Review* 1934 on the relation between Nepal and the British government. For more documents related to this, see PCRIND\_0008\_0001 to PCRIND\_0008\_0010 and so on.

**6.2 A letter from H. J. Wilkinson to Candra Śamṣera regarding the establishment of funds for the abolition of slavery (PCRIND\_0008\_0002)**

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1924 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 2; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0002; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42856>.

**Edition:**

[page-2]

1 No 2895

1 16<sup>th</sup> August 1924

152 G.P. Notes or Loans are Government Promissory notes and legal debt instruments generally issued by the Imperial Bank of India, in which the bank promises to pay a certain sum of money to the payee under specific terms and interest rates.



1 My dear Maharaja  
2 With reference to your letter of the 30<sup>th</sup> July 1924  
3 I write to inform your Highness that it does not seem to be  
4 necessary to invest the money first in Government Promissory notes  
5 the<sup>153</sup> latter<sup>154</sup> convert them into stock certificates. As you intend that  
6 stock certificates should eventually be held by the Trustees  
7 I am asking the currency officer, Calcutta, to arrange for  
8 the purpose of stick<sup>155</sup> certificates for the amounts mentioned.  
9 The detailed arrangements regarding interest 4c<sup>156</sup> will presumably  
10 be the same as for the other funds referred to by Your Highness{ ...}  
11 viz., the Shivaratri Pilgrims Help Fund and the Ayurvedic  
12 Educational Fund.  
13 I am with kind regards Yours very sincerely  
14 श्री H. Wilkinson

#### Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter, Hugh J. Wilkinson, the first British Envoy in Nepal, responds to a letter of Prime Minister Candra Śamśera through which the latter requested help regarding the investment of several lakhs of rupees for two trusts: the Great War Memorial Tri Chandra Hospital Fund and the Slave Emancipation Fund as compensation of the loss of the former slave owners. Candra wanted to invest the money in the Government of India G.P. Notes or Loans and then convert them into stock certificates. Wilkinson advises the Prime Minister to invest the money directly into stock certificates under conditions applied previously for the Shivaratri Pilgrimage Help Fund and the Ayurvedic Education Fund.

153 Read: to.

154 Read: later.

155 Read: stock.

156 Uncertain reading.

6.3 A letter from Candra Śamśera to H. J. Wilkinson regarding the establishment of funds for the abolition of slavery (PCRIND\_0008\_0003)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1924 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 2; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0003; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42857>.

Edition:

[page-2]

1 16<sup>th</sup> August 1924

1 My dear Mr. Wilkinson

2 Thank you for your letter no 2895 dated the 16<sup>th</sup>

3 August 1924. As we were not aware that stock certificates

4 can be purchased direct from the Public Debt Office, I

5 issued instructions for the purchase of G.P. notes at about

6 the time when I wrote to you and I have information that

7 the purchases are nearly completed. Under the circumstances

8 I very much regret that I am unable to take advantage

9 of the kind arrangement which you have so thoughtfully

10 made in this instance and request you to kindly telegraph

11 to the Currency officer not to purchase the stocks but wait

12 for securities to be sent from here through you

13 With kind regards

14 Yours very sincerely

15 श्री Chandra

16 To

17 W. H. J. Wilkingson Esq C I. E.

18 British Envoy at the court of Nepal.

Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter, Prime Minister Candra Śamśera asks Mr. Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard not to pursue the arrangements for the investment of several lakhs of rupees for the Great War Memorial Tri Chandra Hospital Fund and the Slave Emancipation Fund as compensation of the loss of the former slave owner, which he had offered in the mentioned previous letter to Candra Śamśera.

6.4 A letter from Candra Śamśera to H. J. Wilkinson regarding the establishment of funds for the abolition of slavery (PCRIND\_0008\_0004)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1924 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 3; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0004; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42858>.

Edition:

[page-3]

1 3<sup>rd</sup> September 1924

1 My dear Mr. Wilkinson

2 In connection with the subject of the creation of Trust

3 Funds as per my letter of 30<sup>th</sup> July 1924 I have the pleasure to inform

4 you that the investment for the Slave Emancipation Fund is now

5 complete and I hold on that account 5% Income Tax Free Loan

6 repayable 1945–55 for the face value Rs 1111200/- (eleven lakhs

7 eleven thousand and two hundred Rupees). The procedure followed

8 on a previous occasion which was referred to in my said letter was

9 that the securities were sent to the British Envoy endorsed in

10 favour of the Trustees of the Funds in their official capacities

11 to have them enforced for payment of interest at Nepal (British

12 Legation) Treasury and that on the return of the securities so

13 enforced the Trustees endorsed them in favour of the Government

14 General in Council for conversion into stock certificates. Will

15 you please let me know whether the same procedure would be  
16 in order in the present instance also, or there is any shorter  
17 way to get the stock certificate. As the securities are free  
18 of Income tax the quantities of obtaining remission of it in them  
19 does not arise in this fund. The arrangement for the  
20 realisation of half yearly interest in the stock certificate  
21 is the same as the previous endorsement funds i.e.  
22 the interest warrants are to be received by the British Envoy  
23 for the time being to have the amounts thereon paid through  
24 the then Prime Minister Nepal to the Trustees in the official  
25 capacities.  
26 The purchase of 3 ½ percent G.P. notes to constitute  
27 the Great War Memorial Tri Chandra Hospital Fund is also  
28 expected to be completed soon. The procedure for obtaining stock  
29 certificates for the Fund and arrangement of drawing the  
30 interests due will be the same as for the Slavery Emancipation  
31 Fund. The only difference would be that the interest on the  
32 securities of this Fund should be arranged to be free of  
33 Income Tax.  
34 I am with kind regards

35 Yours very sincerely  
36 श्री Chandra.

### Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter, Prime Minister Candra Śamśera informs Mr. Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard that the investment of 1,111,200 Rs for the Slave Emancipation Fund is completed and that it has to be repaid between 1945 and 1955 at a tax-free interest rate of 5%.

6.5 A letter from H. J. Wilkinson to Candra Śamśera regarding the establishment of funds for the abolition of slavery (PCRIND\_0008\_0005)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1924 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 4; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0005; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42859>.

Edition:

[page-4]

1 no 3234

1 8<sup>th</sup> September 1924

1 My dear Maharaja

2 With reference to your letter dated the 3<sup>rd</sup> September

3 1924 I would suggest that Your Highness should in the first

4 instance endorse the G.P. notes of Rs 111120[0]/ in favour of the

5 present Trustees of the Slave Emancipation and Hospital

6 Funds by name and then send them to me as endorsed to enable

7 me to have them enforced for payment of interest from here

8 as it is necessary before G.P. notes can be converted into stock

9 certificates of the same loan for all interest accrued on

10 the notes to be drawn.

11 Further I regret to inform Your Highness that there

12 seem to be no shorter way of obtaining the stock certificates[.]

13 These latter when obtained will be issued in favour of the

14 Trustees, as Trustees, and not by name as Your Highness desires[.]

15 I am with kind regards

16 Yours very sincerely

17 श्री H. Wilkinson

Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter, Hugh J. Wilkinson suggests Prime Minister Candra Śamśera to name the trustees of the Great War Memorial Tri Chandra Hospital Fund and the Slave Emancipation Fund in order to enable Wilkinson to take the necessary steps for the payment of the interest.

6.6 A letter from Candra Śamśera to H. J. Wilkinson  
regarding establishment of the Slavery Emancipation Trust  
(PCRIND\_0008\_0006)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1924 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 4–5; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0006; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42860>.

Edition:

[page-4]

1 16<sup>th</sup> September 1924

1 My dear Mr Wilkinson

2 Thank you for your letter no 3234 dated the 8<sup>th</sup>

3 September 1924[.] As advised therein I am sending by the hands

4 of Mīr Suba Aastaman Singh the G.P. notes of the 5% income

5 tax free loan of 1924 of the face value of Rs 1111200/- (eleven

6 lakhs eleven thousand and two hundred Rupees) forming the

7 Slave Emancipation Trust Fund. These are endorsed in

8 favour of the Trustees viz. --

9 (1) Chandra Sham Shere Jung, Prime Minister Nepal

10 (2) Bhim Shum Sher Jung, Commander-in-Chief Nepal

11 (3) Joodha Shum Shere Jung, Senior Commanding Gen[.] Nepal

12 (4) Tark Raj Raj Guru Nepal and

13 (5) Bharatraj, Khajanchi Mulki Khana Nepal

14 Those Trustees or their successors in office will administer  
 15 the fund in their official capacities as mentioned against  
 16 their respective names above and I have noted with thanks

[page-5]

17 that you will kindly arrange for this.  
 18 I am with kind regards

19 Yours very sincerely  
 20 श्री Chandra

21 Particulars of G.P. notes being the 5 % Income Tax  
 22 free Loan (of 1924 repayable in 1945/55)  
 23 of the face value of Rs 1111200/-

7 pieces	no N	000954/60	at Rs 100000 each	Rs 1100000/-
4 “	“	N 000962/65		
1 “	“	J 00 6130	“ Rs	10000
1 “	“	G 049510	“ Rs	1000
1 “	“	Q 012589	“ Rs	200
				<u>Rs 1111200-0-0</u>

### Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter to Hugh J. Wilkinson, Prime Minister Candra Śamśera names the trustees of the Slave Emancipation Fund and lists the different pieces of the loan. The Trustees ex officio are Prime Minister Candra Śamśera, Commander-in-Chief Bhīma Śamśera, Senior commanding general Juddha Śamśera, Royal Preceptor Tarka Rāja and Treasurer Bharata Rāja of the Mulukī Khānā (the state treasury).

6.7 A letter from Candra Śamśera to H. J. Wilkinson regarding progress of slavery emancipation (PCRIND\_0008\_0011)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1925 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 7; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0011; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42861>.

Edition:

[page-7]

1 27<sup>th</sup> April 1925

1 My dear Mr Wilkinson

2 Here with I am sending you 14 pieces of 5% Income

3 Tax Free loan repayable on 1945–55 of the face value

4 of Rs 1111200/- (eleven lakh eleven thousand and two

5 hundred, proposed to form the slave Emancipation Trust

6 Fund for the interest due thereon being paid by the British

7 Legation Treasury here.

8 It gives me much pleasure to tell you that

9 the emancipation of slaves and abolition of slavery in

10 the country has been decided upon as a result of the

11 appeal which was made to that purpose and that in

12 consequence the work of compensating owners and liberation

13 of slaves has already begun. Up till now about a

14 thousand have been so liberated out and above the 325

15 whom the owners have nobly come forward to set free

16 without taking any compensation. Thus, the necessity

17 of maintaining the slave Emancipation Trust Fund

18 has been obviated and so these securities will now be

19 disposed of for the amount thereof being made available

20 to go to the Fund required to buy from the owners the

21 liberation of slaves. I am looking out for buyers here

22 and expect that some other trust funds may be willing

23 to buy them.

24 I am with kind regards



25 Yours very sincerely

26 श्री Chandra

### Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter Prime Minister Candra Śamśera reports to Mr. Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard on the progress of the liberation of slaves due to the Slave Emancipation Trust Fund established by him. He reports that about a thousand slaves have been liberated by paying their owners and that more than 325 slaves have been freed by their owners without receiving any compensation.

### 6.8 A letter from Charles Hough regarding the payment of interest on Government Promissory notes bought by Candra Śamśera for the establishment of the Slavery Emancipation Trust Fund (PCRIND\_0008\_0012)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1925 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 7; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0012; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42862>.

### Edition:

[page-7]

1 1638

1 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1925

- 1 The Nepalese officer attached to the British Legation Nepal
- 2 With reference to His Highness the Maharaja's letter dated the
- 3 27<sup>th</sup> April 1925 regarding payment of interest on certain
- 4 Government Promissory notes I enclose a form of receipt
- 5 for interest on the notes and would request that it may
- 6 kindly be filled in[,] signed by the holder and returned to me
- 7 as early as convenient to enable me to pay the interest due up to
- 8 half year ending 14<sup>th</sup> April 1925[.]

9 श्री C. Hough Hd. Clerk  
10 for British Envoy at the court of Nepal

Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter or note, Charles Attwood Knyvett-Hough, Head Clerk of the British Legation Nepal, asks to sign receipts for interest on the Government Promissory notes purchased by Prime Minister Candra Śamśera for the establishment of the Slave Emancipation Trust Fund.

6.9 A letter from Prime Minister Candra Śamśera to H.J. Wilkinson acknowledging the receipt of the interest on the Government Promissory notes bought for the establishment of the Slavery Emancipation Trust Fund (PCRIND\_0008\_0013)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1925 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, p. 8; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0013; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/42863>.

Edition:

[page-8]

1 19<sup>th</sup> May 1925

1 My dear Mr. Wilkinson

2 With reference to your Memorandum no 1638 / G<sup>157</sup>IH/25 dated

3 the 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1925 I have the pleasure to return herewith the

4 form of receipt for interest on the G.P. notes for Rs 1111200/-

5 duly signed by the holders and request the favour of your kindly

6 having the amount duly paid through the Nepalese officer

7 attached to the British Legation.

8 I am with kind regards.

- 9 Yours very sincerely  
10 श्री Chandra Shum Shere

1 Form of Receipt

1 A.G.B. No 228

1 Govt Securities Manual Form no 13J.

2 Voucher 20 of list.

1 Receipt of interest on Govt Promissory notes:

2 Received from the Government Treasury at Nepal interest due

3 on Promissory notes as follows: –

No of Note NB If the number is in a fractional form the upper no only need be quoted	amount of each note	amt of hyasly <sup>158</sup>	Total	Date
No 00954	100000	2500	2500	14/4/25
No 00955	“	2500	2500	“
No 00956	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00957	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00958	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00959	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00960	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00962	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00963	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00964	“	2500	2500	“
“ 00965	“	2500	2500	“
“ 06190	10000	250	250	“
“ 49510	1000	25	25	“
“ 012509	200	5	5	“

Synopsis:

In this copy of a letter or note to Hugh J. Wilkinson-Guillemard, Prime Minister Candra Śamśera returns the form of receipt for interest on the Government Promissory notes worth 1,111,200 rupees that were bought for the establishment of the Slave Emancipation Trust Fund. The document also provides a list of the Government Promissory notes. The interest amount was received by the Government Treasury of Nepal.

6.10 A letter from Sūrya Vikrama Jñavālī to  
Baḍā Kājī Marīca Māna Siṃha re abolition of slavery  
(PCRIND\_0008\_0022)

Edited by Axel Michaels; Dated 1925 CE; Private: Collection of Walter Rindfleisch, book no. 1, pp. 14–16; Archived at the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, project “Documents on the History of Religion and Law of Pre-modern Nepal” as PCRIND\_0008\_0022; for digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/40838>.

Edition:

[page-14]

1 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1925

1 My dear Bada Kaji Sahib

2 I am in receipt of your letter dated the 20<sup>th</sup> December 1924.

3 I had been away from Darjeeling and have just come back to Benares  
4 hence the delay in replying it in time.

5 First of all I want to offer my heartiest congratulations

6 to His Highness the maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung Bahadur

7 Rana for his wise decision to abolish slavery in Nepal. During his

8 long reign His Highness has inaugurated many reforms in Nepal

9 and has done many good things, but this act of His Highness is un-  
10 para[ll]led, unique and the greatest of them all for which he will be remem-

11 bered in ages to come by generations of Nepalese as a great ruler who

12 had the courage and boldness to do away with { ... } a barbarous system

13 under which thousands of God's own sons and daughters were bought  
14 and  
15 sold like chattels and kept in perpetual bondage. The desire of His  
16 Highness to spend any amount of money to get rid the cruelty of the  
17 sinful system of slavery is worthy of the cause and laudable and  
18 I am sure His Highness will get full support and sympathy in this  
19 from the thinking section of the community. Of course slave  
20 owners and those who desire benefit from this obnoxious system  
21 will dislike and oppose the measure and bring forward all sorts  
22 of objections against it, but the opinion of vested interest cannot

[page-15]

22 carry same weight as that of those who think independently  
23 and without any prejudice.  
24 I understand that even after payment by government to them,  
25 slave owners will be allowed to retain their slaves for seven years.  
26 If this is true, I am against it. I fully realise that for some time  
27 after emancipation of slaves, slave owners of our Pahad Khand<sup>159</sup>.  
28 who utilise slave labour in their agriculture will suffer, as the  
29 labouring class which is almost the same as our military class  
30 has been considerably diminished or rendered useless on account  
31 of the last European war. Still after a most careful consideration  
32 I have come to the conclusion that once emancipated present slaves  
33 should be free in all respects and their owners should not be legally  
34 allowed to exercise any kind of authority over them. It is better to  
35 suffer pain for a while, however secure it may be during operation  
36 than to allow an ulcer to spread its virus in the blood.  
37 The next thing to be considered in this connection is how  
38 these emancipated slaves will carry on their livelihood. I hear  
39 that Government has set apart a forest which will be cleared  
40 and they will be settled there.<sup>160</sup> It seems to me that agriculture  
41 alone is not sufficient. They must have some opportunity to work  
42 and earn their bread in their own country. I suggest that Government  
43 should take up construction of roads, bridges, public buildings, canals  
44 etc. in the Raj. and employ them. A few battalions of ex slaves  
45 can also be raised in the Nepal Army and they may be taken

159 I.e., Nepalese hilly region.

160 This refers to Amalekhanj.

46 in Police as well.  
 47 During my recent visit to our Terai I found that people  
 48 specially those of Pahad were dissatisfied with the proposal.  
 49 This is due to ignorance and I believe that when they will know  
 50 the evils of slavery they will hate it and gladly help in its  
 51 abolition even if they would be put to pecuniary loss and great  
 52 inconvenience. So I will suggest a publicity propaganda among  
 53 the people by Government. Literature depicting the evils of  
 54 slavery should be distributed among them and lectures organised  
 55 to explain them why this has got to go root and branch.  
 56 Let me once more thank His Highness before finishing

[page-16]

57 this letter for his wise and statesmanlike decision and I hope very soon  
 58 all slaves of Nepal whom we had unjustly forcibly and cruelly kept  
 59 in bondage will receive their freedom which is their birth-right.  
 60 I have not received a copy of the speech of His Highness which  
 61 you promised to send in your last letter. I will stay here up to the  
 62 end of February and my address is noted above where you will kindly  
 63 send that speech and oblige<sup>161</sup>.

64 yours faithfully,  
 65 श्री Surya Bikram Gewali

### Synopsis:

In this letter to the Baḍā Kājī Marīca Māna Siṃha, Sūrya Vikrama Jñāvālī praises Candra Śamśera for his wise decision to abolish slavery and provides some suggestions regarding the management of slaves after their emancipation. Jñāvālī opposes the idea that even after payment the owners would be allowed to retain their slaves for seven years, and opines that the owners should not be legally allowed to exercise any kind of legal authority over freed slaves.<sup>162</sup> He shows his concerns

161 Uncertain reading.

162 Candra Śamśera had proposed this in his appeal of 28<sup>th</sup> November 1924. The appeal reads: “The slaves, freed from the fixed date, are to be apprenticed to their former owners for a period of seven years: that is, the slaves should be bound to labour for their masters, the latter in return providing them with food and clothing as at present” (C.S.S. Rana 1925: 47).

regarding how the emancipated slaves will carry on their livelihood and mentions that he heard of government's plan to clear a forest and settle the slaves there. He suggests that the freed slaves should not only do the agriculture, but also be allowed to work in their own country, and that they should be hired on the construction works and that a battalion of ex slaves can be raised in the Nepal army or in the Police. He speculates the dissatisfaction of the *pahādī* slave owners in the Terai because there would be shortage of labourers upon freeing the slaves. To tackle this, he suggests that literature regarding the evils of slavery should be distributed, and lectures be organized.

### Commentary:

This copy of a letter from Sūrya Vikrama Jñavālī to Marīca Māna Siṃha is found in pages 14–16 of the bound book (PCRIND\_0008) containing copies of documents relating to the slavery abolition by the prime minister.

Sūrya Vikrama Jñavālī (1898–1985), born in Benaras and educated and lived in Darjeeling, was a renown historian. He moved to Nepal in 1950s. He was the chancellor of the Royal Nepal Academy for five years. He also wrote biographies of Dravya Śāha, Rāma Śāha, Pṛthvīnārāyaṇa Śāha, Bhānubhakta Ācārya and so on (see T. Śarmā VS 2056: 125).

## 7. Documents on Unfree Labour and *Hulāka* System

### 7.1 A *rukkā* directing twelve families of Masau and Kimāḍī villages to operate a *hulāka* (DNA\_0013\_0062)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1864 (1807 CE); National Archives Nepal, Ms no. 371; microfilmed as NGMPP DNA 13/62.

Edition:

1 श्री दुर्गाज्यू

[royal seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य रुक्का । ---  
 2 आगे गढको मासौमा चिठि पत्र जाहाँवाट गयाको पश्चिमवाट आयाका  
 3 तपसील बमोजिमका घरले मासौमा जना ४ चारले आठौ प्रहर रुजु  
 4 रहि चिठि पत्रको हुलाक चलाउनु । षटायी बमोजिमका हुलाकिलाई आ-  
 5 फु बस्याको घर वारि जिमिको अम्बालिले षोसमोस नगर्नु । गर्षासरह-  
 6 को रकम कलमको तिमिहरूले सालवसाल तिर्यामध्ये घर १ के दर  
 7 रूपैया १ येक २ फागु आना दुई // दुवै कलमको जमा रूपैया १//  
 8 अरु झारा बैकर वेठ वेगार माफ । औ हुलाकको काज कायेम रहंज्याल-  
 9 सम वर्सार्ईनी चासको पालो वाहिक साल ६० देषी पुढोको बयेरान  
 10 जिमिमध्ये घर १ के दर जागिर विसी २ गरिवकस्यौं । लालमोहर चिठि पत्र-  
 11 को हुलाक चलाउनु । अरु आउन्या जान्या वाटमा हिडन्याको वोझा भा-  
 12 रि चिठि पत्रका हुलाकीले नवोकनु । कसैले जवरदस्ती गरि वोझा भारि  
 13 वोकाया अमालि कम्पनीछेउ भनी विराउ माफिकको सासना गराउ-  
 14 नु । चिठि पत्र लैजादा ल्याउदा वाटमा येक छिन अटक्यो केहि तल विच  
 15 पर्यो भन्या हुलाकमा षटायीका घरलाई भारि सासना होला । ---
- 16 हुलाक बरुया घर १ २ को तपसील
- |    |              |   |              |   |
|----|--------------|---|--------------|---|
| 17 | मासौगाउ      |   | किमाडीगाउ    |   |
| 18 | धंसी भंडारि  | १ | मदुवा नेगि   | १ |
| 19 | कलुवा भंडारि | १ | मानुकु नेगि  | १ |
| 20 | कमलु भंडारि  | १ | ठुनाप कड्याल | १ |
| 21 | कुन्द मासै   | १ | मलुष कड्याल  | १ |
| 22 | पुसालु मासै  | १ | जसोदो सारै   | १ |
| 23 | दुवु मासै    | १ |              |   |
| 24 | जिवा सारै    | १ |              |   |



25 ईति सम्बत १८६४ साल मिति आश्विन सुदि १५ रोज ६ शुभम् । ---

Translation:

Glorious Durgā

[royal seal]

Hail! [This is] the executive order (*rukkā*) of the glorious great king.

*Āge*: [In order to relay] the letters that are dispatched from here as well as the ones that come from the west, 4 persons from the households of Māsau as listed [below] should be present at all eight *praharas*, [and] operate the *hulāka* [post] at Māsau of Gaḍha. The *amālīs* shall not confiscate the house, garden and land in which the assigned *hulākīs* live. Of the taxes and levies (*rakama-kalama*) on par with the *garkhā*<sup>163</sup> that you pay annually, [you should only pay] 1 rupee per house. As for the *phāgu*<sup>164</sup> [levy], [pay] two *ānās*. Both levies amount to a total of 1 rupee and 2 *ānās*. Other [obligations such as] *jhārā*, *baikara*, *beṭha* and *begāra* are exempted. As long as one remains in the duty with the *hulāka* and apart from the annual turn of cultivating the land (*cāsa*), we have granted for each house a *jāgira* of twenty (*bisī*)<sup>165</sup> of uncultivated (*vayerāna*) land of Puḍho from the year [VS 18]60. Operate the *hulāka* for [relaying] the *lālamoharas* and mails. The mail-relaying *hulākīs* should not carry the loads of any other passers-by. If anyone forcibly causes them to carry loads, report it to the *amālīs* or to the [military] company, and have him punished according to the extent of his offence. In the course of relaying the mails, if the mails get stuck even for a moment or if a discrepancy occurs, the persons despatched will be subjected to heavy punishment.

Details of 12 households operating the *hulāka*:

<u>Māsau Village</u>		<u>Kimādī Village</u>	
Dhaṃsī Bhaṃḍāri	1	Maduvā Negi	1
Kaluvā Bhaṃḍāri	1	Mānuku Negi	1
Kamalu Bhaṃḍāri	1	Ṭhunākha Kaḍyāla	1
Kunda Māsai	1	Malukha Kaḍyāla	1
Khusālu Māsai	1	Jasodo Sārai	1
Duvnu Māsai	1		
Jivā Sārai	1		

163 A revenue sub-division comprising a number of villages.

164 A homestead levy collected in the hill districts during the month of Phāguna. See also *sāune-phāgu* in the glossary.

165 Probably referring to 20 *murīs* of land.

Friday, the 15<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] era year 1864 (1807 CE). Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This executive order of king Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha assigns seven families of Māsau and five families of Kimāḍī villages to operate a *hulāka* post at Māsau. The places mentioned are in the far western Nepal. Kimāḍī probably is Kimari which lies within Giregada VDC of Baitadi district in far western Nepal. However, their exact locations could not be confirmed.

The document orders that a team of four porters should take turn to attend round-the-clock to the post in order to relay the mails. The porters mentioned are to carry the *lālamoharas* and the mails only. Therefore, they are of the *kāgate hulākī* type.

It is apparent that the *hulākī* porters were privileged in comparison to other kinds of forced labourers. The document not only provides some land as *jāgira* for the *hulākīs*, it also protects the land currently used by them by prohibiting it from being confiscated by the *amālīs*. On top of this, they had some taxes and levies reduced and other forms of labour obligations exempted.

Two years after this document, Bhīmasena Thāpā issued an ordinance (*savāla*) in 1809 which mentions of the establishment of *hulāka* posts along the route from Kathmandu up to Yamuna River in the west. See Document 7.2 (RRC\_0006\_1015) for this ordinance.

### 7.2 A copy of a set of directives regarding *hulāka* stations for areas between Dharmasthalī in Kathmandu and the Yamuna River in Kumaun (RRC\_0006\_1015)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1866 (1809); Regmi Research Collection, vol. 6, document no. 1015, pp. 1009–17; Archived at the Tribhuvan University Library, Kirtipur; microfilmed as NGMPP E 2393/1.

Edition:

[page-1009]

1 ३६७

- 1 मीती प्रथम आषाड सुदी ४ रोज [७] ।
- 2 प्रसोस्ती<sup>166</sup> ---
- 3 आगे सुवेदार बलभद्र षत्री सुवेदार धर्मानंद ष-
- 4 वासके । धर्मथली पस्चीं जमुना पुर्व जगा जगामा
- 5 जाई गन्या काजको सवाल गरीवकस्यौं । सवाल
- 6 वमोजीको काज गर्दा कसैको मुलाहीजा नप-
- 7 री हाम्रा नीमकको सो[झो] गरी लायाको कांमा तत्पर

[page-1010]

- 8 भै गर । ---
- 9 प्रथम सवाल : धर्मथली पस्चीं भेरी पुर्व ची-
- 10 ठीपत्रका हुलाक राष्याको मोहर वमोजी वसे
- 11 नवसेको षसोषास जाची अधीको मोहर
- 12 वमोजीको हुलाकीलाई साउंने फागुको
- 13 आधा वेथ वेगार घरवारीको सेर्मा माफ गरी
- 14 हुलाकीले कमायाको षेत् अधीजा नषोस्-
- 15 नु भनी मोहर गरीवकसेको हो । ६६ सालदे-
- 16 षी साउंन्या फागु आधा तीन्या स्मेत् माफ ग-
- 17 री अधीजा षेत् घर १ के मुरी [ ]<sup>167</sup> कमाउंनु
- 18 गरी वंधेज वाँधी वकस्यौं । येस वमोजीको
- 19 रुक्का लेषी अधीलो मोहरस्मेत् हाम्रा ह-
- 20 जु र चह्राईपठाउंनु । मोहर गरीवकसी पठा-
- 21 उंला । --- १

[page-1011]

- 22 दोश्रा सवाल : भेरी पस्चीं जमुना पुर्व चीठीपत्र
- 23 कागजको हुलाक चलाउंन्याहरूलाई अ-
- 24 धीका मोहरमा लेष्याको रकं र जगाअनुसार
- 25 येस सालका वंदेज वमोजी चाहीन्या रकंको

166 Read: *praśasti*.

167 Space left blank.

- 26 वाजषाम मीलाई रुक्का लेषी अधीलो मोहर  
 27 स्मेत् हाम्रा हजुर चढाईपठाउनु । मोहर  
 28 गरीवक्सी पठाउंला । --- [२]  
 29 तेस्रो सवाल : धर्मथली पस्चीं भेरी पुर्व जगा जगामा  
 30 मुल रास्ताका चलदो मील्दो गरी भारीका हुलाक  
 31 वोक्नालाई दीं १ को वाटमा ४ जगामा हुलाक  
 32 राषणु । १ जगाका हुलाकमा घर २० वीस राषी  
 33 जगा जगामा राषेको भारी वोक्ने हुलाकीको  
 34 साउंने फागु उंघाउंनी पघाउंनी झारा वेठ वेगार  
 35 माफ गरीवक्सेको छ । ताहा वाजषां मीलाई  
 36 वंदोवस्त गरी रुक्का लेषी हाम्रा हजुर चढाईपठाउ-

[page-1012]

- 37 नु । मोहर गरीवक्सी पठाउंला । --- ३  
 38 चौथा सवाल : हुलाकका भारी वोक्दा जाहा-  
 39 वाट जान्या पस्चींवाट आउंन्या जंगी कांको  
 40 र वीरामी वाहीक वीना लालमोहर र काजी  
 41 भीसीं थापाको दसषत् हुलाक चलाई देउ  
 42 भंन्या नदेषी गुरु प्रोहित चौतरीया काजी सर्दार  
 43 सुव्वा सुवेदार जमादार सीपाही चार वर्ण छ-  
 44 तीसै जात् कसैको भारी नवोकनु । यो भारी दर्वार-  
 45 को हो भनी ढाटी कसैले हुलाक चलायो भने आ-  
 46 लमाल मानीसस्मेत पक्री हाम्रा हजुर वींती गरी  
 47 पठाउनु । हुकुम गर्या वमोजीं गर्नु भनी ऊर्दी सवैला-  
 48 ई सुनाईदीनु । --- ४  
 49 पाचौ सवाल : चीठीपत्रका कागत्या हुलाकी र भा-  
 50 री वोक्न्या हुलाकीलाई वंघेज वाधीवक्सेको  
 51 मोहर वमोजींमा कसैले वीथीती गरी जवरजस्ती

[page-1013]

- 52 अंन्याये गर्यो भने तेस मानीसलाई पक्री हा-  
 53 म्रा हजुर्मा वींती गरीपठाउंनु भनी अडा अडा-  
 54 का भारा सुवा सुवेदार गैरका नाउंमा मोहर  
 55 गरीवक्सेको छ । तस अर्थ मस्युर्गदी पस्चीं  
 56 काली पुर्व तालुक पोषरा काली पस्चीं सषी  
 57 पुर्व तालुक प्युठाना सषी पस्चीं भेरी पुर्व ता-

- 58 लुक सल्यां भेरी पस्चीं कर्नाली पुर्व तालुक [दुल्लु दैलेख कर्नाली पस्चीं डोटीका  
काढागाउं पुर्व तालुक]<sup>168</sup> आ-
- 59 छाम दोटीका काढागाउं पस्चीं माहाकाली पु-  
60 र्व तालुक डोटी दीपायेल माहाकाली पस्चीं  
61 गढका सीमना पुर्व तालुक अलमोडा कुमाउं-  
62 को साँध पस्चीं भागीर्थी पुर्व तालुक श्रीनगर  
63 भागीर्थी पस्चीं जमुना पुर्व तालुक दुन जगा  
64 जगामा सोई वमोजीं सुनाईदीनु । --- ५  
65 छठमा सवाल : जगा जगाका गढी कीला वंन्या  
66 नवंन्या हेर्नु । कुरन्या मानीस वसे नवसेको

[page-1014]

- 67 जाचनु । नवन्याका वीगरेको भया वनाउना-  
68 को ताकीती गर्नु । सो कैफीयेत हाम्रा हजुर वींती  
69 गरीपठाउनु । --- ६  
70 सातवा सवाल : जगा जगाको तारघाट हेर्नु । वीग-  
71 र्याको र नवन्याको ठाउंमा उस जगाको भारादार  
72 अमालीदारलाई पै गरि वनाउंन लाउंनु । वनाया-  
73 को र नवनायाको वीस्तार वींती गरीपठाउनु । --- ७  
74 आठमा सवाल : जगा जगामा वरुया भारादार सु-  
75 वा सुवेदार गैरका साथमा छोटा वडा मानीस क-  
76 ती रद्दा छ क्या तद्वीर रहेछ षसोषास ले-  
77 षी चडाईपठाउंनु । --- ८  
78 नौमा सवाल : जगा जगाको वारदषाना [वारुदषाना] मेगर्जीमा का-  
79 रषाना पुरो चल्याको र नचल्याको हेर्नु । गर्याको  
80 काज तयार भयाको वंदुक वारुद काज गर्न्या मानीस  
81 कालीगढस्मेत जना जात फर्द हाम्रा हजुर चडाईप-  
82 ठाउंनु । --- ९

[page-1015]

- 83 दसमा सवाल : प्युठाना कुमाउंवाट षजाना मु-  
84 हुडामा कती गयेछ जाहावाट प्युठानावाट-  
85 कुमाउंवाट मुहुडामा गयाको षजाना काहा  
86 क्या अर्थले अटकदो रहेछ जस्ताको तस्तो वींती  
87 गरीपठाउंनु । षजाना जाहा [जाहा] अटक्याको छ वा-

168 Supplied by comparing it with RRC\_0040\_0044.

- 88 हाका भारादार सुवा सुवेदार [सिगुता?] <sup>169</sup> जगा जगा-  
 89 का अमालीलाई पै गरी चाडो हीडाउनु । --- १०  
 90 येघारौ सवाल : वाटका जगा जगाका गाउंमा आउं-  
 91 न्या जान्याको वीहृतले उठ्याका गाउं कुरीयाला-  
 92 ई तसलह गरी झीकाई वसाउनु । जगा जगामा रह्या-  
 93 का भारादार कंपनी अमालीलाई रास्ताका गाउं-  
 94 मा दरवारको काजले हाम्रा हुकुं वाहीक आउने  
 95 जान्या मानीसहरूले आफ्ना भारी वेगारी  
 96 वैकरको टंटा लाउंन नदीनु भनी उर्दी सुनाईदीनु ।  
 97 औ येस सवाल वमोजीं गर्याका काजको

[page-1016]

- 98 येक फर्द प्राप्त गरी तैले राषनु । येक फर्द प्राप्त ग-  
 99 री हाम्रा हजुर चढाईपटाउनु । --- ११  
 100 वारौ सवाल : जगा जगाको कंपनीको हाजीर लीनु । हा-  
 101 जीर लीदा रैवंदी वमोजीं [नालजाजीमा?] <sup>170</sup> जुं कंपनीमा  
 102 जती भर्ना भयाको छैन पेत १ का रुपैया २५ को दर-  
 103 ले भारा सुवेदार जस्का तैनाथी छ उसैसंग भरी लीनु । ---  
 104 १२  
 105 तेरौ सवाल : जाहा दरवारवाट जान्या चीठीपत्र र  
 106 मुहुडावाट आउने चीठीपत्र जंगी कांको षर्षजना <sup>171</sup> तो-  
 107 प वंदुक गोली पथर वारुद जस्का अमलमा अट्-  
 108 कंछ अट्काउनेलाइ दंड गर्नु । --- १३  
 109 चौधौ सवाल : हुलाकीका घरलाई अधीजा पे-  
 110 त दीदा [अमाली]समेत् राषी येक पेतदेषी उंधो र चाली-  
 111 स मुरीदेषी उंभो जाहां हेरी [रेवन्दी] गरीदीनु । औ येक दीन -  
 112 को वाटामा घर <sup>172</sup> जगामा भारी वोकने हुलाक रा-  
 113 षनु भनी सवालमा चह्याको छ । तसर्थ तीमी

[page-1017]

- 114 हरूले जगा जाची लामो वास र छोटो वास  
 115 जगाअनुसार येक दीका वाटामा भारीका चा-  
 116 र हुलाकदेषी उंधो दुइ हुलाकदेषी उंभो [वा]-  
 117 जपाम मीलाई हुलाक राषी रुक्का लेषी चढा-

169 Unclear reading.

170 Unclear reading.

171 Read: *ṣarṣajānā*.

172 Read: *cāra*.

- 118 ईपठाउंनु । मोहर गरी वक्सीपठाउंला । --- १४  
 119 पंध्रौ सवाल : कागत्या हुलाकी र भारी हुलाकी-  
 120 लाई माफ गरीवक्स्याका रकंकलं अघी वसाया-  
 121 का हुलाकीको जगा जगाका अमालीलाई केही  
 122 मीन्हा वक्स्याकै छ । अब वरूया हुलाकी-  
 123 को जगा जगामा जती जती जस जसका षांगीमा  
 124 कार्तीछ सो रुपैजाको फर्दस्मेत् हाम्रा हजुर च-  
 125 हर्ईपठाउंनु । ठगां<sup>173</sup> गरीवक्सौला । --- १[५]  
 126 सोरौ सवाल : कागत्या हुलाकको वंदोवस्त गर्दा येक  
 127 घरको सेर्मा रुपैजा येकसम्म माफ गरी रुक्का ले-  
 128 षी चढाईपठाउंनु । मोहेर गरी वक्सीपठाउंला ।  
 129 मीती सदर । «आषाढ सुदी ४ १८६६ ।»

Translation:

[page-1009]

367<sup>174</sup>

Date: Saturday, the 4<sup>th</sup> of the first Āṣāḍha.<sup>175</sup>

*Praśasti*.<sup>176</sup>

*Āge*: To the *subedāras* Balabhadra Khatrī and Dharmānanda Khavāsa.

We have issued [this set of] directives concerning the tasks to be carried out at different locations west of Dharmathalī and east of the Jamunā [River]. When carrying out the tasks mentioned in the directives, be true to our salt and perform the assigned duties promptly without showing favouritism to anyone.

173 Read: *thegām*.

174 This denotes the record number of the document within the bundle containing it.

175 The year is absent here. However, VS 1866 was added at the end of this document by a second scribe. Therefore, the date in the *amānta* system corresponds to 17 June 1809.

176 The original *praśasti* has not been copied here. However, from the date, it is clear that the original document contained a eulogy of King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha, and probably of Bhīmasena Thāpā as well.

[page-1010]

First directive: We [previously] issued a royal order (*mohara*), stating: “In accordance with [earlier] *moharas* concerning the establishment of *hulāka*-posts for the transport of mail [within the area] west of Dharmathalī and east of the Bherī [River], inspect thoroughly whether [the *hulāka*-posts] are present or not. Exempt *hulākī* porters specified in earlier *moharas* from half of the *sāune-phāgu* [levy], *beṭha* and *begāra* [labour obligations], and from the *sermā* [levy] on homesteads. Do not confiscate paddy fields or any fields being cultivated by *hulākīs* under the *adhiyā* [system of tenancy].” We have made arrangements so that from the year [VS 18]66 (1809 CE), they are exempt from [the remaining] half of the *sāune-phāgu* [levy], and so that each household may earn ...<sup>177</sup> *murīs* from paddy fields [cultivated under] the *adhiyā* [system]. Draft a *rukkā* in accordance with this and dispatch it to us together with the earlier *mohara*. We will send it [back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 1.

[page-1011]

Second directive: Conforming to the [allocated] sums (*rakama*) and land mentioned in earlier *moharas* for those who operate the mail-transporting *hulāka*-posts west of Dharmathalī and east of the Bherī [River], and in accordance with this year’s arrangements (*bandeja*), prepare an estimate (*vājakhāma*) of required sums. Draft a *rukkā* accordingly and send it to us together with the earlier *moharas*. We will send it [back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 2.

Third directive: Put in shape the main routes at the different places west of Dharmathalī and east of the Bherī [River], and in order to transport loads [of goods] set up 4 *hulāka*-posts along the route over a distance of each day’s journey. Assign 20 families to each *hulāka*-post. [The king] has exempted the load-transporting *hulākīs* employed at different places from the following [levies and obligations]: *sāune-phāgu* and *ughāunī-paghāunī* [homestead levies], *jhārā*, *beṭha* and *begāra* [obligations]. Prepare an estimate and put things in order. Draft a *rukkā* and send it to us.

177 The space for number has been left blank.



[page-1012]

We will send it [back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 3.

Fourth directive: Regarding the carrying of loads, excluding loads going from here or coming from the west relating to military activity or to sick persons, do not, without seeing a *lālamohara* or a document signed by Kājī Bhīmsīṃ Thāpā (i.e., Bhīmasena Thāpā) with an order to transport loads, carry anyone else's loads including those of [guru-] priests, *cautarīyās*, *kājīs*, *sardāras*, *subbās*, *subedāras*, *jmādāras*, *sipāhīs*, or [members] of the four caste-classes (*varṇa*) and thirty-six castes (*jāta*). If someone has loads transported, falsely stating that the loads belong to the palace, detain the man along with his luggage and report [the matter] to us. Instruct everyone to act as ordered --- 4.

Fifth directive: [The king] has issued a [*lāla*] *mohara* to the *bhārā[dāra]*s, *subbās*, *subedāras* and so on of various offices, proclaiming: “If anyone in disregard of the arrangements made [by us] regarding the mail-transporting *kāgatya-hulākīs* or the load-transporting *hulākīs* coerces or causes injustice to them, detain that man and report [the matter] to us.”

[page-1013]

For that reason, relay this information to the [following] places, [responsible for the following regions]:

Pokhara: [for the region] west of the Marsyāndī [River] and east of the Kālī [River]

Pyuthana: [for the region] west of the Kālī and east of the Sakhi [River]

Salyan: [for the region] west of the Sakhi and east of the Bheri [River]

Dullu [of] Dailekh: [for the region] west of the Bheri and east of the Karṇālī [River]

Achham: [for the region] west of the Karṇālī and east of Kāḍhā Gāū (Doti)

Dipayal [of] Doti: [for the region] west of Kāḍhā Gāū, Doti and east of the Mahākālī<sup>178</sup> [River]

178 Part of the text in the original here has been supplied by comparing it with RRC\_0040\_0044.

Almora: [for the region] west of the Mahākālī and east of the border with Garh

Srinagar: [for the region] west of the border with Kumaun and east of the Bhāgīrathī [River]

Dun: [for the region] west of the Bhāgīrathī and east of the Jamunā [River] --- 5.

Sixth directive: Check whether or not forts and fortresses have been built at various places. Find out whether they are properly manned.

[page-1014]

If they have not been built or are in disrepair, apply pressure to have them built or repaired. Send a report about this to us --- 6.

Seventh directive: Inspect the river crossings (*tāraghāṭa*). At places where they are broken down or need to be repaired, admonish the local *bhārādāras* or *amālīdāras* to have them repaired. Send [us] details of whether they have been repaired or not --- 7.

Eighth directive: Send an exact report regarding the number of *bhārādāras*, *subbās*, *subedāras* etc. from place to place along with [the number of] men of high and low rank, and the kinds of arrangements (*tadbir*) they have [among themselves] --- 8.

Ninth directive: Check from place to place whether or not factories at powder houses and magazines are functioning at full capacity. Send to us a report of the work done—the guns and gunpowder produced—and information on the number of workers and artisans and their castes --- 9.

[page-1015]

Tenth directive: Submit reports to us regarding the amount of munitions (*khajānā*) sent to the front (*muhūḍā*) from Pyuthana and Kumaun, and where and for what reasons munitions sent to the front from here (i.e., Kathmandu), Pyuthana and Kumaun get obstructed. Wherever munitions are obstructed, admonish the local *bhārādāras*, *subbās*, *subedārās*, *segutā*<sup>179</sup> and *amālīs* to have them moved on quickly --- 10.

179 Reading in the original is unclear. M.C. Regmi translates here as “chiefs of feudatory principalities” (Regmi 1986: 140).

Eleventh directive: At villages at places along the [*hulāka*] route which are deserted due to oppression caused by passersby, solace tenants from the villages and have them [re]settled there. Have *bhārādāras*, [military] companies and *amālīs* of the various places informed of our order: “Except for those travelling on palace business or by our orders, people travelling through villages on the route shall not be allowed to cause trouble [to villagers] by having them carry loads for free (*begārī*), or by demanding free provisions (*baikara*).” Get a report of action taken according to this regulation,

[page-1016]

keep one copy for yourself, and send another copy to us --- 11.

Twelfth directive: Take attendance at [military] companies at different places. When doing so, collect from the *bhārādāra* or *subedāra* on duty whatever [revenue] has not been paid up in companies ...<sup>180</sup> in accordance with *raibandī* [system], at the rate of 25 rupees per *kheta* --- 12.

Thirteenth directive: If mail and military supplies [including] cannons, guns, bullets, flint and gunpowder dispatched from the palace or coming from the front are obstructed, the person exercising jurisdiction over the place shall punish the obstructor --- 13.

Fourteenth directive: When providing paddy fields to *hulākī* households on an *adhiyā* [tenure basis], distribute them in the presence of the [local] *amālī*: [to each household] land between forty *murīs* and one *kheta* (i.e., 100 *murīs*) according to the size of the family. It is stated in the [above] directive that for a distance of one day’s journey there should be four *hulāka*-posts for transportation of loads.

[page-1017]

Therefore, after checking the remoteness of the terrain, and estimating according to whether long or short rest stops [are necessary,] establish between two and four *hulāka*-posts for a one day’s journey. Prepare a *rukkā* accordingly and send it to us. We will send [it back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 14.

Fifteenth directive: Regarding the official amount under exemptions granted to the mail- and load-transporting *hulākīs*, some of it has

180 The term in original is incomprehensible.

already been compensated to the *amālīs* of the corresponding areas. Regarding newly appointed *hulākīs* at different places and the amounts deducted [for them] from [the *amālīs*'s] emoluments (*khāngī*), send us details of the amounts. We will make arrangements [accordingly] --- 15.

Sixteenth directive: When making arrangements for mail-transporting *hulāka*-posts, prepare [a draft of] a *rukkā* granting a maximum exemption of one rupee per household from the *sermā* [levy]. We will send [it back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 16.

The date is valid. The 4<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in [the Vikrama era year] 1866 (1809 CE).

### Commentary:

This copy of an order issued by King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha to *subedāras* Balabhadra Khatrī and Dharmānanda Khavāsa consists of sixteen directives concerning the management of the *hulāka* for relaying mail and loads in the western part of Nepal.

The first directive completely exempts mail-transporting *hulākīs* from the *sāune-phāgu* levy. It mentions earlier royal orders regarding the establishment of *hulāka*-posts along the route.<sup>181</sup> In this and several of the following directives, the addressees are asked to compose drafts of *rukkās*, which then would be officialized at the palace by affixing the royal seal.

The third directive concerns load-transporting *hulākīs*. It instructs that four *hulāka*-posts be set up within the distance covered by a day's journey, and that twenty *hulākī* families should be assigned to each post. These *hulākīs* are exempted from the same levies as cancelled for the mail-transporting *hulākīs*, with the exception of *ughāunī-paghāunī* replacing *sermā*.

The fourth directive limits the categories of loads allowed to be transported to ones relating to: military activity, sick persons and the loads for which there is a written order from either the king or Kājī Bhīmasena Thāpā.

The fifth directive names nine regional offices as responsible for the organization of the *hulāka* system. Directives six and seven order the maintenance of forts and river crossings, while directive eight orders that records of army men at the different camps be kept. Directives nine and ten call for inspecting ammunition factories, and keeping records of transfers of munitions between the areas.

181 See Document 7.1 (DNA\_0013\_0062) for one such *rukkā*.

The eleventh directive is concerned with preventing the misuse of *hulākī* labour. Labour exploitation of the tenants appointed to *hulāka* tasks was common, so that the palace had to issue such orders at different times to prevent it. The exploitation in some places was so harsh that some villages along routes had become desolate. This section instructs the addressees to encourage tenants to resettle such villages, and prohibits people from using *hulākī* labour to transport any private loads.

The fourteenth directive states that the transfer of land to *hulākīs* for their service should be done in the presence of the local *amālīdāra*. This section refines the third directive by stating that between two and four *hulāka*-posts be set up to cover a day's journey, depending on the terrain.

The fifteenth directive documents that the government occasionally provided compensation to local *amālīdāras* for amounts exempted from taxes and levies borne by *hulākīs*.

The sixteenth directive exempts the *hulākīs* from one rupee of *sermā* levy. This, however, seems to contradict with the first directive where the *sermā* is entirely exempted.

An English translation of this document was first published in Regmi 1986: 138–141, and extracts are available in Stiller 1976: 52–54 and K. L. Pradhan 2012: 222–224. In the wake of war with the British, such *hulāka* routes were organized for eastern part of Nepal and other places as well (see RRC 41.533: 514, RRC 41.538: 517 and RRC 41.569: 556–61).

### 7.3 A copy of a set of directives re *hulāka* stations in areas between the Vāgmatī and Vijayapura (RRC\_0041\_0569)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Date VS 1871 (1814 CE); Regmi Research Collection, vol. 41, document no. 569, pp. 556–61; Archived at the Tribhuvan University Library, Kirtipur; microfilmed as NGMPP E 2451/1.

Edition:

[page-556]

1 हुलाक वसालन्या सवाल

1 १८२ आगे नजीकी सनमां सीके वागमती पुर्व विजेपुर

2 पस्चीं जगा जगामा जाई गन्या काजको सवाल गरीवक्-

- 3 स्यौं । सवाल वमोजीको काज गर्दा कसैको मोलाहीजामा न-  
 4 परी हाम्रा नीमकको सोझो गरी लायाको काज-  
 5 मा तपर<sup>182</sup> भै गर । ---  
 6 तपसील  
 7 प्रथम सवाल / वागमती पुर्व विजैपुर पस्चीं चीठीपत्र-  
 8 का हुलाक २/३ कोसको फरक गरी हुलाक वसाउनु ।  
 9 हुलाकीलाई साउंन्या फागुको आधा वेठ वेगार घर  
 10 वारीको सेर्मा रुपैजा १ सम्म माफ गरी हुलाकीले कमा-  
 11 याको घेत कुत अधीजा नषोसनु भनी साउंन्या फागु  
 12 आधा तीर्न्यास्मेत माफ गरी कुत अधीजा घेत घ-  
 13 र १ के [ ]<sup>183</sup> मुरी कमाउनु गरी वंधेज वाधीवक्स्यौं । हु-  
 14 लाकीको नाउं घर कुत अधीजा घेतस्मेतको वेव

[page-557]

- 15 रा घाली येका हुलाकमा घर १६ वसाई जगाअ-  
 16 नुसार वाजषाम मीलाई रुक्का लेषी हाम्रा ह-  
 17 जु र चढाईपठाउनु । मोहर गरीवक्सी पठाउला । १  
 18 दोश्रा सवाल / वीजैपुर पस्चीं वागमती पुर्व जगा जगामा  
 19 मुल रास्ताका चल्दोमील्दो गरी भारीका हुलाक  
 20 वोकनालाई दीं १ को वाटामा चार जगामा हुला-  
 21 क राषनु । येक जगाका हुलाकमा घर १२ राषी जगा  
 22 जगामा राष्याका भारि वोकने हुलाकीको साउंन्या  
 23 फागु उघाउनी पघाउनी झारा वेठ वेगार माफ गरी-  
 24 वक्स्यको छ । ताहा वाजषां मीलाई वंदोवस्त ग-  
 25 री रुक्का लेषी हाम्रा हजुर चढाईपठा-  
 26 उनु । मोहर गरीवक्सी पठाउला । --- २  
 27 तेश्रो सवाल / हुलाकका भारि वोकदा जाहावाट  
 28 जान्या पुर्ववाट आउन्या जंगी कांको र वेरामी तो-  
 29 डा वाहीक वीना लालमोहर र जर्णेल भींसीं

[page-558]

- 30 थापाको दस्पत हुलाक चलाईदेउ भंन्या नदेषी  
 31 गुरु प्रोहीत चौतरीया काजी सर्दार सुवा सुवेदार ज-  
 32 मादार सीपाही चार वर्ण छतीसै जात कसैको भा-  
 33 री नवोकनु । यो भारी दर्वारको हो भनी ढाटी कसैले

182 Read: *tatpara*.

183 Space left blank.

- 34 हुलाक चलायो भन्या आलमाल मानीसस्मेत पक्री  
 35 हाम्रा हजुरमा वींती गरीपठाउनु । हुकुं गया वमोजीं गर्नु  
 36 भनी उर्दी सवैलाई सुनाईदीनु । --- ३  
 37 चौथा सवाल / चीठीपत्रको कागत्या हुलाकी र भा-  
 38 री वोकन्या हुलाकीलाई वंधेज वाँधीवकस्याका मोह-  
 39 र वमोजींमा कसैले वीथीती गरी जवरदस्ती अंन्या-  
 40 य गर्यो भन्या तेस मानीसलाई पक्री हाम्रा हजुर  
 41 विंती गरीपठाउनु । --- ४  
 42 पाचौ सवाल / जगा जगाका गढी कील्ला वंन्या नवंन्या  
 43 हेर्नु । कुहन्या मानीस वस्या नवस्याको जाचनु । नव-  
 44 न्याका वीगर्याको भया वनाउनाको ताकीती गर्नु ।  
 45 सो कैफीयेत हाम्रा हजुर वींती गरीपठाउनु । --- ५

[page-559]

- 46 छैटौ सवाल / जगा जगाको मुल वाटो तारघाट्  
 47 हेर्नु । वीगर्याको र नवन्याका ठाउमा उस जगाको  
 48 भारादार अमालीदारलाई पै गरी वनाउन  
 49 लाउनु । वनायाको र नवनायाको वीस्तार वींती  
 50 गरीपठाउनु । --- ६  
 51 सातौं सवाल / वाटाका जगा जगाका गाउमा आउन्या  
 52 जान्याको वीहृतले उठ्याका गाउ कुरीयालाई तस-  
 53 ल्लह गरी झीकाई वसाउनु । जगा जगामा रह्याका  
 54 भारा कंपनी अमालीलाई रास्ताका गाउमा दर्वार-  
 55 को काजले हाम्रा हुकुं वाहीक आउन्या जान्या मा-  
 56 नीसहेरुले आफ्ना भारी वेगारी वैकरको टंटा  
 57 लाउन नदीनु भनी उर्दी सुनाईदीनु । औ येस सवा-  
 58 ल वमोजीं गर्याका काजको येक फर्द साफ गरी तै-  
 59 ले राषनु येक फर्द साफ गरी हाम्रा हजुर चढा-  
 60 ईपठाउनु । --- ७  
 61 आठौ सवाल / जगा जगाका कंपनीको हाजीरी

[page-560]

- 62 लीनु । हाजीरी लीदा रैवंदी वमोजीं [नालजाजीमा?]<sup>184</sup> जुं  
 63 कंपनीमा जती भर्ना भयाको छैन पेट १ को रुपैजा २५-  
 64 को दर्ले भारा सुवेदार जस्का तैनाथी छ उसैसंग भ-  
 65 री लीनु । --- ८

- 66 नौमा सवाल / जाहा दरवारवाट जान्या चीठीपत्र  
 67 र नागरी चैंपुर वीजैपुरवाट आउन्या जंगी कांको घर-  
 68 षजाना तोप वंदुक गोली पत्थर वारूद जस्का अमाल-  
 69 मा अटकछ अटकाउन्यालाई दंड गर्नु । --- ९  
 70 दसौ सवाल / हुलाकीका घरलाई कुत अधिजा  
 71 घेत दिदा अमालीस्मेत राषी येक घेतदेषी उंधो  
 72 र चालीस मुरीदेषी उंभो जाहां हेरी रैवंदी गरीदीनु ।  
 73 औ येक दीनको वाटामा चार जगामा भारी वोकन्या  
 74 हुलाक राषनु भनी सवालमा चढ्याको छ । तसर्थ  
 75 तीमीहेरुले जगा जगा जाँची लामो वास र छोटो वास  
 76 जगानुसार येक दीको वाटोमा भारीको चार हुला-

[page-561]

- 77 कदेषी उंधो पुर्व हुलाकदेषी उंभो वाजषाम  
 78 मीलाई हुलाक राषी रुक्का लेषी चह्वाईपठाउ-  
 79 नु । मोहर गरी वक्सीपठाउला । --- १०  
 80 येगाह्नी सवाल / कागत्या हुलाकको वंदोव-  
 81 स्त गर्दा येक घरको सेर्मा रुपैजा येकसम्म माफ  
 82 गरी रुक्का लेषी चह्वाईपठाउनु । मोहर गरी वक्सी-  
 83 पठाउला । --- ११  
 84 १८७१ साल वैसाष सुदी १३ रोज २ शुभम् ।

Translation:

[page-556]

Directives regarding the establishment of *hulāka* posts.

182<sup>185</sup>

Āge: To Najikī Sanmām Siṃ.

We have issued [this set of] directives concerning tasks to be carried out at different locations east of the Vāgmatī [River] and the west of Vijayapura. When carrying out the tasks as mentioned in the ordinance, be true to our salt, and perform the assigned duties promptly without showing favouritism to anyone.

185 This denotes the record number of the document within the original bundle, which has been identified as *pokā* no. 12; *bahī* no. 40 (see RRC 41: 534).



Particulars:

First directive: Establish *hulāka*-posts for the transport of mail [within the area] east of the Vāgmatī and west of Vijayapura at intervals of 2 to 3 *kośas*.<sup>186</sup> Our [earlier] order states: “*Hulākī* porters shall be exempted from half of the *sāune-phāgu* [levy], from *beṭha* and *begāra* [labour obligations], and up to 1 rupee of the *sermā* [levy] on homesteads. Do not confiscate paddy fields or fields cultivated by *hulākīs* under the *kuta* or *adhiyā* [system of tenancy].” We have made arrangements for them to be exempted from [the remaining] half of the *sāune-phāgu* [levy], and for each household to earn ...<sup>187</sup> *murīs* from paddy fields [cultivated under] the *kuta* or *adhiyā* [system].

[page-557]

Prepare a detailed [report] containing the names of the *hulākīs*, their houses, and the paddy fields [cultivated by them under] the *kuta* or *adhiyā* [system]. Assign 16 *hulākī* families to each *hulāka*-post and prepare an estimate (*vājakhāma*) [of revenue] according to the [type of] land. Draft a *rukkā* and dispatch it to us. We will send [it back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 1.

Second directive: In order to transport properly the loads [of goods,] put the main route in shape from place to place west of Vijayapura and east of the Vāgmatī, and set up 4 *hulāka*-posts over a distance of each day’s journey. Assign 12 families to each *hulāka*-post. [The king] has exempted load-transporting *hulākīs* employed from place to place from the following [obligations and levies]: *sāune-phāgu*, *ughāunī-paghāunī*, *jhārā*, *beṭha* and *begāra*. Prepare an estimate and put things in order. Draft a *rukkā* and send it to us. We will send it [back] after affixing the royal seal --- 2.

Third directive: Regarding the carrying of loads—excluding loads going from here or coming from the east relating to military purposes, sick persons and money bags (*toḍā*)—without seeing a *lālamohara* or a document signed by General Bhīmsīṃ Thāpā

186 *Kośa*: a measurement unit of distance varying between 3.2 and 3.6 kilometres (Bakker 2006: 34), equivalent to a quarter of a *yojana*.

187 The space for number has been left blank.

[page-558]

with an order to transport the loads, do not carry anyone else's loads including those of [guru-]priests, *cautarīyās*, *kājīs*, *sardāras*, *subbās*, *subedāras*, *jmādāras*, *sipāhīs*, or [members] of the four caste-classes (*varṇa*) and thirty-six castes (*jāta*). If someone has loads transported, stating falsely that the loads belong to the palace, detain the man along with his luggage and report [the matter] to us. Instruct everyone to act as ordered --- 3.

Fourth directive: If anyone in disregard of the arrangements made [by us] regarding the mail-transporting *kāgatyā-hulākīs* or the load-transporting *hulākīs* coerces or causes injustice to them, detain that man and report [the matter] to us --- 4.

Fifth directive: Check whether or not forts and fortresses have been built at various places. Find out whether they are properly manned. If they have not been built or are in disrepair, apply pressure to have them built or repaired. Send a report about this to us --- 5.

[page-559]

Sixth directive: Inspect main routes and the river crossings (*tāraghāṭa*). At places where they are broken down or need to be repaired, admonish the local *bhārādāras* or *amālīdāras* to have them repaired. Send [us] details of whether they have been repaired or not --- 6.

Seventh directive: Regarding the villages along the [*hulāka*] route which are deserted due to oppression caused by passersby, solace the tenants from the villages and have them [re]settled there. Have *bhārādāras*, [military] companies and *amālīs* of the various places informed of our order: "Except for those travelling on palace business or by our orders, people travelling through villages on the route shall not be allowed to cause trouble [to villagers] by having them carry loads for free (*begārī*), or by demanding free provisions (*baikara*)."  
Get a report of action taken according to this regulation, keep one copy for yourself, and send another copy to us --- 7.

[page-560]

Eighth directive: Take attendance at [military] companies at different places. When doing so, collect from the *bhārādāra* or *subedāra* on duty

whatever [revenue] has not been paid up in companies ...<sup>188</sup> in accordance with *raibandī* [system], at the rate of 25 rupees per *kheta* --- 8.

Ninth directive: If mail and military supplies [including] cannons, guns, bullets, flint and gunpowder dispatched from the palace or coming from Nāgarī, Cainapura and Vijayapura are obstructed, the person exercising jurisdiction over the place shall punish the obstructor --- 9.

Tenth directive: When providing paddy fields to *hulākī* households on a *kuta* or *adhiyā* [tenure basis], distribute them in the presence of the [local] *amālī*: [to each household] land between forty *murīs* and one *kheta* (i.e., 100 *murīs*) according to the size of the family. It is stated in the [above] directive that for a distance of one day's journey there should be four *hulāka*-posts for transportation of loads. Therefore, after checking the remoteness of the terrain, and estimating according to whether long or short rest stops [are necessary,] establish between two and four *hulāka*-posts for a one day's journey. Prepare a *rukkā* accordingly and send it to us. We will send [it back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 10.

Eleventh directive: When making arrangements for mail-transporting *hulāka*-posts, prepare [a draft of] a *rukkā* granting a maximum exemption of one rupee per household from the *sermā* [levy]. We will send it [back to you] after affixing the royal seal --- 11.

Monday, the 13<sup>th</sup> of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in [the Vikrama era] year 1871 (1814 CE).

### Commentary:

This copy of a royal order, issued to Najikī Sanmāna Siṃ, contains eleven directives regarding the organization of the mail- and load-relaying *hulāka*-posts in the eastern part of Nepal. Found in Regmi Research Collection volume 41, it lacks the original *praśasti* of the issuing king. However, from the date it is clear that it was issued by King Gīrvāṇayuddha Vikrama Śāha, probably together with General Bhīmasena Thāpā. A document similar to this one was issued five years earlier in 1866 regarding the organization of *hulāka*-posts for the western part of Nepal; see Document 7.2 (RRC\_0006\_1015) and RRC\_0040\_0044. Several of the directives in this document, including the number of *hulāka*-posts to be established in each area, the exemption of *hulākī* porters from different levies and the benefits provided to

188 Space left blank in the original.

them, are similar to the earlier ones. The place Vijayapura mentioned in this document probably lies in present-day Dharan.

#### 7.4 A *rukkā* directing residents of Ālampura and Pakarbāsa to repair an irrigation-channel (DNA\_0013\_0060)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1894 (1838 CE); National Archives Nepal, Ms no. 369; microfilmed as NGMPP DNA 13/60; for digital edition, see: <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/1576>.

Edition:

1 श्री: \

[Royal seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य रुक्का । ---  
 2 आगे आलम्पूर पकरवासका तपसिल वमोजीम् गाउ गाउका द्वार्या थरि मुषि-  
 3 या मिझार्या रैति गैह चार वर्न छत्तिसै जातप्रति । पकरवास माडि व्येसिका पेतको  
 4 कुलो भटौलि षोलाले अलाग गरि लगिराषेछ यो साल कुलो नवनाया कंपु पल्टं-  
 5 का पेत वाझा रहन लाग्या भनि पकरवासका द्वार्या थरि भला आदमिले हाम्रा हजुर-  
 6 मा विंति गर्न आउदा जाहेर भयो । ९४ सालका झाराका रुपैया आधि माफ गरि हुला-  
 7 कि ब्राह्मण र तिलंगा घरवाहेक् तपसिल माफिकका गांउले र पेत कमाउन्या मो-  
 8 हि गैहले घरहि डप्को झारा भै तिन मैन्हाको षान्या सामल र कोदाला वंचरा गल् कुंदा  
 9 घन् टागासमेत् लि पकरवासका द्वार्या र थरि सिवनारान् प्रसाजी मेहर सिं का-  
 10 कि रामनाथ पाध्या पौड्याल् कासिनाथ पाध्या हुंग्याल्हरुसग सामेल भै फागु-  
 11 न चैत वैसाषभरमा नजाँ कुलो पनि पहरो काटि वनाई पानि चह्वाउन्या काम ग-  
 12 र । हरहेमायेत् गरि झारामा सामेल नभै कुलो नसिध्याई पेत वाझा रहन गया भ-  
 13 न्या कंपु पल्टंको वालि वुझाउनु पर्ला । डंड पनी पर्ला । औ कुलो षन्दा पहरो का-  
 14 ट्नालाई आलंपुरका आग्रि जना १० लाई आलंपुरका द्वार्या मुषियाले षटाई  
 15 पठाईदिनु । पहरो काट्न्या आग्रि जना १० लाई रोजीन्ना सिधा र ज्याला पुजा ला-  
 16 गन्या षर्च पकरवासको थनुवा पेतका वालिमध्ये षर्च लाउनु । मोजरा वक्सौला ।
- 17 तपसिल्  
 18 पकरवासभर अम्बल १  
 19 आलंपुरमध्ये गाउ ६  
 20 कुवापानि फुलपा १  
 21 माकाडम् १

22	वांग्या सल्ला	१
23	गागल्	१
24	पिंपोरि	१
25	मेगर्पा भदौर्या	१
26	इति सम्बत् १८९४ साल मिति फागुन सुदि ३ रोज ३ शुभम् ---	

### Translation:

Śrī

A *rukkā* of the glorious great king.

Age: to all the four *varṇas* and thirty-six *jātas* including *dvāryās*, *tharis*, *mukhiyās*, *mijhāryās* and ryots of the villages of Ālampura<sup>189</sup> and Pakarabāsa<sup>190</sup> listed [below].

The *dvāryās*, *tharis* and local notables of Pakarabāsa came to petition us and apprised us [of the following,] saying: “The irrigation-channel in the paddy fields of Māḍi Besi has overflowed and been swept away by the Bhaṭauli River. If the irrigation channel is not repaired this year, the fields belonging to the *kampu palṭana*<sup>191</sup> may remain barren.” Half of the amount of *jhārā* [levy] of the year [VS 18]94 will be cancelled [for the labourers]. Excluding *hulākīs*, Brahmins and soldiers (*tilaṃgā*), each household of villagers or of tenants (*mohī*) who till land shall become compulsory labourers by command (*dapko jhārā*). Take with you provisions for three months, mattocks (*kodālo*), axes, crowbars (*gal*), mallets (*kundā*), sledgehammers and measuring rods (*tāgo*). Gathering together with the *dvāryās* and *tharis* [named] Śivanārān Prasāī, Mehara Siṃ Kārki, Rāmanātha Pādhyā Pauḍyāl and Kāśīnātha Pādhyā Ḍhuṅgyāla, make a new irrigation channel by digging and cutting through rocks throughout [the months of] Phāguna, Caitra and Vaiśākha, and accomplish the task of getting water to flow<sup>192</sup> [through it]. If, having been shown preferential treatment (*harahemāyat*), you do not join in the compulsory labour or leave the irrigation channel incomplete, so that the fields remain barren, you will

189 From the list provided in this document containing six villages within Ālampura, it seems to be a fairly wide area in Rāmechāpa district. Modern maps, however, do not display this Ālampura.

190 Pakarabāsa is a VDC in Rāmechāpa district.

191 The terms used here are *kampu* and *palṭana*, denoting two different categories of army units. These two terms are mentioned here together as having the land under their control, so that it may be assumed that they are used collectively to denote the army.

192 *Carhāunu*, lit. to ascend, lift.

have to compensate the crops for the *kampu paṭṭana*'s [loss of] crops. A fine will also be imposed. During the digging of the irrigation channel, the *dvāryās* and *mukhiyās* of *Ālampura* shall dispatch 10 masons (*āgri*) for cutting rocks. The expenses for the daily raw food (*rojinnā sidhā*), wages and rituals for the 10 *āgri* shall be met from the standing crops of *Pakarabāsa*'s *thunuvā kheta*<sup>193</sup>. Deductions will be granted.<sup>194</sup>

Particulars

<i>Pakarabāsa ambala</i>	1
Villages within <i>Ālampura</i>	6
<i>Kuvāpāni Phulapā</i> <sup>195</sup>	1
<i>Mākāḍam</i> <sup>196</sup>	1
<i>Bāngyā Sallā</i> <sup>197</sup>	1
<i>Gāgal</i> <sup>198</sup>	1
<i>Pimkhori</i>	1
<i>Megarpā Bhadauryā</i>	1

Tuesday, the 3<sup>rd</sup> of the bright fortnight of *Phāguna* in the [Vikrama era] year 1894 (1838 CE).

Commentary:

This royal order of King Surendra Vikrama Śāha directs the residents of *Pakarabāsa* and six villages within *Ālampura*, both lying in *Rāmechāpa* district, to participate in the repair of an irrigation channel as a civil duty. The paddy field to be irrigated belonged to the army. The document exempts households of Brahmins, soldiers and *hulākī* porters from the labour. The rest of the residents had to contribute their labour under unfavourable terms: they are ordered not just to work for free for three months on the channel, but also to bring their own supplies and tools. Interestingly, the document mentions providing wages to ten stonemasons, probably because it was an exceptionally difficult task to cut through rocks while digging the conduit.

193 The paddy fields currently under government restraint.

194 This probably refers to deductions on the amount of *jhārā* labour required under the annual levy.

195 *Kuvāpāni* village lies within *Kathjor* VDC in *Rāmechāpa* district.

196 Also spelled *Mākāduma*, a VDC in *Rāmechāpa* district.

197 A village within *Purānā Gāū* VDC in *Rāmechāpa* district.

198 Probably *Gāgal Bhadaure*, a VDC in *Rāmechāpa* district.

The document exempts the residents from half of the amount of *jhārā* fee for the year. This implies that the residents of the stated vil-lages had to pay an annual *jhārā* levy in cash. It is, however, unclear whether this levy was meant to substitute for regular *jhārā* obligations. M. C. Regmi argues that such an obligation could not be avoided through monetary compensation, and that a special levy in cash in lieu of the obligation was only rarely possible, in cases where the labourers were in a remote location or the area was sparsely populated (see Regmi 1971: 115–16).

### 7.5 Copy of a *rukkā* issued by the king to Jaṅga Bahādura Kūvara permitting *jhārā* labour to be used to build a bridge at Āryaghāta (RRC\_0062\_0180)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1903 (1847); Regmi Research Collection, vol. 62, document no. 180, pp. 617–18; Archived at the Tribhuvan University Library, Kirtipur; microfilmed as NGMPP E 2467/3; for the digital edition, see <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/47509>.

Edition:

[page-617]

1 ७४

- 1 रुक्कासौ – आगे श्री प्राईम मीनीष्टर यान
- 2 कम्प्याण्डर ईन चीफ जनरल जङ्ग वहादुर
- 3 कुवर प्रति । मेरा बाबा काजी बाल नरसिंह
- 4 कुवरले श्री आर्याघाटमा बनायाको फला-
- 5 मको पुल पक्का नठहर्दा त्यो फलामको पु-
- 6 ल अन्त सारी पक्का पुल बनाउनालाई
- 7 मेरो र भाईहरू काजी कर्णेल कपरदार क-
- 8 सानहरूका पुवाका प्रजा रैतीहरू झारा
- 9 लगाई बनाउनु भन्थ्या हुकुम वक्स्या पु-
- 10 ल बनाउदा हुं भनि तैले हाप्पा हजुरमा
- 11 वीन्ती पादा धर्मको काम हो तेरो र तेरा भा-
- 12 ई काजी कर्णेल कपरदार कसानहरूका
- 13 तपसील वमोजीमका पुवाका प्रजा रैतीह-

- 14 रूलाई झाराका रूपैया तीन्या प्रजाहरूलाई  
 15 दप्क गुहार र झाराका रूपैया नतीन्यालाई

[page-618]

- 16 १९०३ सालमा लाग्याको अनेत्रको झा-  
 17 रा माफ गरी दप्को झारा लगाई जंगलवा-  
 18 ट काठ वोकाई पुल बनाउना नीमीत्य  
 19 ईनै पुवाका प्रजा रैतीहरू दप्को झारा  
 20 गरी पुल नसीधीनज्यालसम्म काम  
 21 लगाई यसै सालमा सीध्याउन भनि  
 22 झाराको मोहर गरीवक्स्यौ । ईति सम्ब-  
 23 त १९०३ साल मीति माघ वदी ४ रोज  
 24 ३ सुभम् । ---

Translation:

[page-617]

74<sup>199</sup>

*Rukkāsau.*

*Āge:* To the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief General Jaṅga Bahādura Kūvara.

You have petitioned us as follows: “The iron bridge that my father Kājī Bāla Narasiṃha built at Śrī Āryaghāṭa<sup>200</sup> is deemed unstable. If, in order to shift the iron bridge elsewhere and build a [new,] stable bridge, [Your Majesty] were to issue an order to employ subjects (*prajā*) and tenants (*ratiṅ*) of the provinces (*khuvā*) who are [under the authority] of me and my brothers—[holders of such posts as] *kājī*, colonel, *kaparadāra* and captain—as *jhārā* [labourers], I would build the bridge.”

I have thus issued [this] *mohara* [authorizing] *jhārā* that states: “It is an act of dharma [to build the bridge]. Employ subjects and tenants of the listed provinces that are [under the authority] of you and your brothers, who are [holders of such posts as] *kājī*, colonel, *kaparadāra* and captain. For subjects who are paid the *jhārā* fee, employ them by

199 This is the record number in the bundle where the document was originally kept.

200 A cremation site at Pashupati in Kathmandu.



command (*dapka/dapko*) [or] request (*guhāra*), and for ones who are not paid the *jhārā* fee,

[page-618]

exempt them [first] from their *jhārā* obligations enforced for the year [VS] 1903 at other places and employ them [for the bridge construction] through *jhārā* by command. Have them carry timber from forest. Employ these subjects and tenants of the provinces until the bridge is complete within this year.”

Tuesday, the 4<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the [Vikrama] era year 1903 (1847 CE). Auspiciousness.

### Commentary:

This document, an executive order of the king, permits Prime Minister Jaṅga Bahādura Rāṇā to employ *jhārā* labourers in order to rebuild the bridge across the Bagmati River at Pashupati. Jaṅga Bahādura, the supremely powerful prime minister at the time, could have easily mobilized the labourers himself, so why did he have to obtain royal consent for a relatively minor task? S. Rupakheti opines that the reason lies in Jaṅga's inclination toward rule-based governance, uniformity and standardization (Rupakheti 2017: 180). It is unclear, however, if there was a standard legislation in place regarding *jhārā* labour at the time this document was issued. It is in the *Ain* of 1854, promulgated seven years after the current document, regulated that forced labour was to be exacted only for the state's purpose. The *Ain* of 1854 contained four paragraphs regarding forced labour, which can be summarized as follows:

- A landlord is not to force a tenant or a peasant on his farm to work unpaid without a written contract. If such forced labour occurs, the landlord is to pay back a sum equivalent to wages of 10 *paisās* per day to the wronged party and to be fined an equal amount (Ain-54 § 11.1).
- A government official or a revenue functionary is not to employ forced labour for his own purposes. If it is proven that he has done so, the wronged party is to be reimbursed the equivalent of 4 *ānās* per day (Ain-54 § 11.2).
- *Jhārā*, *begāra*, and *beṭhi* are to be employed only for state-managed activities (Ain-54 § 11.3).

- If an official sends a person away from his own province as a day labourer or a porter, the latter should be provided with two meals a day and an allowance of 10 *paisās* per day (Ain-54 § 11.4).

The act of building the Bagmati bridge, even though of public concern, seems to have still been considered a private undertaking of the Kūvara family in this document. Interestingly, the king grants permission to employ the labourers on the grounds that the bridge building was “an act of *dharmā*”.

The document makes clear that not all the *jhārā* labourers were unpaid, and that the labourers could be employed either by command or by request.

The copier abbreviates the *intitulatio* down to the phrase *rukkāsau*, leaving out the name of the issuer. However, it is clear from the date that the issuer is King Rājendra Vikrama Śāha (ruled until 12 May 1847). Since the word *tapasīla* is mentioned in the document, the original presumably contained a list of provinces that were under the control of the Kūvara brothers. However, such a list is not included in the copy.

#### 7.6 A *rukkā* of the king forbidding abuse of porters and directing *hulākī* porters to carry the loads only for state purposes (DNA\_0016\_0023)

Edited and translated by Manik Bajracharya; Dated VS 1905 (1888 CE); National Archives Nepal, Ms no. 673; microfilmed as NGMPP DNA 16/23; for digital edition, see: <https://nepalica.hadw-bw.de/nepal/editions/show/1342>.

Edition:

[*Ir*]

1 श्री दुर्गाज्यू\

1 श्री गुरु

1 445

[Royal seal]

- 1 स्वस्ति । श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजकस्य रुक्मा । ---  
 2 आगे मेचि पश्चिम महाकाली पूर्व भर मुलुकका अडाअडाका --- पुरोहित चौत-  
 3 रीया जनरल काजि कम्प्यांडर कर्णेल{...} सर्दार कपतान सुब्बा कुंमेदान सु-  
 4 वेदार कंपुका जाचकि जिल्लादार ठेकदार द्वार्या थरि रकमि गैह् प्रति । पुर्व पश्चि-  
 5 मका भारादारहरू आँउंदा जाँदा र रकमी जाचकि गैह् आउंदा जाँदा सदरवा-  
 6 ट गल्लिगल्लिमा वेगारि पक्रि भारि वोकाउंदा सारा दुआँलाई<sup>201</sup> साह्रै विजाई वि-  
 7 च्छत हुन जाँदोरहेछ र सो कुरा श्रीमद्राजकुमारकुमारात्मज श्री प्राइम मि-  
 8 निष्टर यान कम्प्यांडर इन चिफ् जनरल जङ्ग वहादुर कुवर राणाजी मार्फत  
 9 हाम्रा हजुरमा जाहेर भयो । अब उप्रांत मेची पश्चिम महाकाली पुर्वका कागत्या  
 10 हुलाकि थापल्या हुलाकिहरूले लालमोहर वमोजीम हाम्रा जंगी षजाना रुपैया  
 11 पैसा तोडाका भारि अधिदेषि चली आया वमोजीम वोक्तु । --- पुरोहीत  
 12 जनरल काजि कम्प्यांडर कर्णेल अरू भरभारादार गैह् आउंदा जाँदा र रक-  
 13 मि जाचकी जिल्लादार गैह्का भारि वेगारिमा नवोक्तु । कंपु पल्टन् कंपनी  
 14 गैह्का षेतका कुला वाद<sup>202</sup> विग्रंदा र भत्क्या विग्र्याका सागु वनाउंदा उसै ठाऊ-  
 15 का गाउघरका गुहारले नपुग्दा मुक्त्यारका दस्पत वमोजीम झारा गुहा-  
 16 र गरि वाद<sup>203</sup> कुलो सागु वनाउंन्या काम गर्नु । येति वाहेक अरू भरभारादा-  
 17 र जाचकि रकमी जिल्लादार गैह् कसैले पनी ज्याला मजुरि नदी उसै वे-  
 18 गारिमा भारि नवोकाउनु । हाम्रा सदरवाट पनी तीन सहर गाउ भरअम्बल-  
 19 मा विना मजुरि नदी कसैले वेगारि पक्री भारि नवोकाउनु भंन्या वन्देज वा-  
 20 धिवक्त्यौं । जसुले यो वन्देज नाधि ज्याला मजुरि नदी वेगारिमा भारि वोका-  
 21 उला उसुलाई भारि दंड सासना होला । ईति संम्वत् १९०५ साल मिति पौ-  
 22 ष वदि ५ रोज ६ शुभंम । ---

[Iv]

- 1 मार्फत् वं वाहादुर कवर राणाजी  
 1 मार्फत् जङ्ग वहादुर कवर राणाजी

Translation:

[Ir]

Glorious Durgā

Venerable guru<sup>204</sup>

445

201 Read: *duniñālāi*.

202 Read: *bādha*.

203 Read: *bādha*.

204 This probably refers to Baḍāguruju, the chief royal preceptor.

[Royal seal]

Hail! [This is] an executive order (*rukkā*) of the venerable supreme king of great kings.

Age: To [Venerable Guru], priests, *cautarīyās*, generals, *kājīs*, commanders, colonels, *saradāras*, captains, *subbās*, *kumedānas*, *subedāras*, inspectors (*jācakī*) of the *kaṃpus*, *jillādāras*, *ṭhekadāras*, *dvāryās*, *tharis*, *rakamīs* etc. of various offices (*aḍḍā*) within the entire territory west of the Mechi and east of the Mahākālī.

It seems that when *bhārādāras*, *rakamīs*, *jācakīs* and so on from the east and the west travel back and forth, they seize *begārī* [labourers] and make them carry loads from headquarters to different [village] quarters, which is a matter of great pain and unease to all subjects. We have been informed of this by the venerable prince and son of a prince, Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief General Jaṅga Bahādura Kūvara Rāṇā.

From now on the *kāgatyā hulākīs* and *thāpalyā hulākīs* from west of the Mechi and east of the Mahākālī shall carry (only) loads containing military materials (*khajānā*), cash or money bags (*toḍā*) for our army in accordance with a *lālamohara* as has been done since earlier times. [Hulākīs] shall not carry loads [as] *begārīs* for [the venerable guru], priests, generals, *kājīs*, commanders, colonels and other *bhārādāras* etc. when coming and going, or for *rakamīs*, *jācakīs*, *jillādāras* and so on. When irrigation channels[or] embankments in fields belonging to *kampus*, *paṭṭanas* or *kampanīs* etc. are damaged, or when repairing the broken-down bridges (*sāgu*), and local assistance is insufficient, accomplish the task of repairing the embankments, irrigation channels and bridges by calling upon *jhārā* assistance in accordance with a letter (*daskhata*) from the *mukhtyāra*<sup>205</sup>. Except in these cases, no other *bhārādāras*, *jācakīs* or *jillādāras* are to obligate someone to carry loads as a *begārī* without paying him wages. I have made the prohibition (*bandeja*) that nor shall anyone seize a *begārī* [labourer] and make him carry loads without payment from our headquarters (i.e., Kathmandu) to the three cities<sup>206</sup>, villages and the entire [capital] district. Whoever disobeys this prohibition and makes [the hulākīs] carry loads as *begārīs* without payment will be subject to heavy punishment.

Friday, the 5<sup>th</sup> of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the [Vikrama] era year 1905 (1848 CE). Auspiciousness.

205 The commander-in-chief of the Nepalese army.

206 I.e., Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur.

[1v]

Through [the hands of] Baṃ Bāhādura Kūvara Rāṇā.

Through [the hands of] Jaṅga Bahādura Kūvara Rāṇā.

### Commentary:

This executive order of King Surendra Vikrama Śāha, addressed to priests, government officials and military personnel, outlaws the exploitation of *hulāka* porters for personal purposes. It reflects the central government's repetitive attempts to control the misuse of porters. A plethora of documents announcing similar regulations were issued to officials in different parts of the country.<sup>207</sup> The present document bears witness the state's intention to use the *hulāka* system for strictly military purposes; having them work on outside obligatory (*jhārā*) projects now required a written sanction from the commander-in-chief himself. It prevents in particular *hulākīs* from being used as *begārī* porters, that is, porters forced to carry loads for free.

This document has been signed by Bam Bahādura Rāṇā and Jaṅga Bahādura Rāṇā on the back side as witnesses.

The *hulāka* mail system in Nepal proved to be highly efficient throughout the 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-centuries. Reformed by Bhīmasena Thāpā and later on by the Rāṇās, it provided a useful means of transporting military ammunition and government mail during the Gorkha expansion. As mentioned in the current document, the *hulāka* porters were of two kinds, namely *kāgatyā*- and *thāpalyā-hulākīs*. *Kāgatyā* (var. *kāgate*) *hulākīs* were assigned to transport mail, and *thāpalyā* (var. *thāple*) *hulākīs* to transport goods. Both were provided with land for their services (cf. Ain-54 § 2.11, and Documents 7.1 and 7.2).

The *hulāka* remained a service limited to the government's own use until 1878, when it opened up to the general public through the formation of a postal service department, the Nepāla Hulāka Ghara.<sup>208</sup>

207 An ordinance issued by Bhīmasena Thāpā in 1809 had already prohibited the exploitation of *hulāka* porters in a similar manner (see Document 7.2, section 4).

208 Cf. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal\\_Post](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepal_Post), accessed 6 June 2019.